

16  
THE  
SHORT HISTORY  
OF THE

Regal Succession,

And the Rights of the several  
KINGS recorded in the Ho-  
ly Scriptures,

Enlarged and improved in a THIRD EDITION:  
Illustrated with SEASONABLE REMARKS on  
Mr. WHISTON'S SCRIPTURE POLITICKS,  
and several other modern Tracts and Sermons on  
the same Subject.

The whole written with an Eye to that most Ex-  
traordinary Fact, for which our Nation is justly visi-  
ted with the Divine Displeasure, even to this Day:  
And dedicated to all the True Sons of the CHURCH  
of ENGLAND.

*Imprimus. Tho. Hoarne*  
1720. *Ex dono Auctoris. Rev.*

By a Presbyterian of the same Church. + *Mr. Linjay.*

We all know, that 'tis not what is artfully pleaded, but what  
'is fully proved; not what may be said by Us, but what the  
'Law says, that ought to be our Rule, in all such Cases.  
*Whist. Script. Polit. Dedicat. to B. Bangor, p. xx.* — As we  
said before, so say I now again, 'If any Man preach any  
'other Gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him  
'be accursed., Galat. 1. 9.

London, printed for the Author, and sold by John  
Morphew near Stationer's-Hall.

THE  
SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

Reformation

I Have examined *Their* Opinions, with the  
same Freedom that *They* have proposed  
them, and which the Interest of Truth and  
Righteousness require, as I conceive, in this  
Case. And this Freedom, I believe, will not  
be offensive to *Themselves*: For, if they will  
stand, it will give *Them* further Opportunity  
to clear them; but, if they will not, as I ve-  
rily think they will not, it will concern All,  
and no Person more than *Themselves*, to be  
shewed the Falshood of them. *Kettlerw.*  
Vol. ii. Fol. 197.



By a Printer of the same Church.

We all know, that it is not what is written, but what is  
in the heart; and that what is in the heart may be  
different from what is written. In all such Cases,  
we have that only to be our Rule, in all such Cases.  
We have that only to be our Rule, in all such Cases.  
We have that only to be our Rule, in all such Cases.  
We have that only to be our Rule, in all such Cases.

Printed by the Author, and sold by John  
Nesbit, at the Sign of the Anchor, in the Strand.





30 Jan. 1719-20.

TO ALL THE  
**True Sons**  
OF THE  
**CHURCH of England.**



H O' I have a great Averſion  
to the fulſome Flatteries, and  
other Impertinences, which  
are oftentimes, by our *Faſhio-  
nable Writers*, ſoiſted in between their  
Title-Page and Book (as if they wan-  
ted ſomewhat of a Foil to make their  
following Pages ſeem the brighter): yet  
a I'm

## The DEDICATION.

I'm not so far prejudic'd against *Prefaces* and *Dedications*, as to deny them to be many Times *Useful*, sometimes *Necessary*. And therefore, whilst I thought there was no *Necessity* for either, I ventured into the World, without *Patron*, without *Apology* (And who would not have perswaded himself, as I did, that a faithful Extract out of the *Holy Scriptures*, might have been sufficiently protected, as well as warranted, by *their* Authority? ) : But, since I have had full Experience, that the **best Cause** is not always the most favourably heard, and that even those of **God and the King** have oftentimes the most *Adversaries*, in *this* World, I thought it high Time, to bethink myself of some *Patron*, in whose Countenance I might find Encouragement.

And where can I so reasonably presume upon a Defence against the impertinent *Cavils*, the groundless *Criticisms*, and the odious *Reflections* of the open and secret Enemies of the Church and

Monar-

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Monarchy, as from *You*, whose *Common Concern* this is? For the *Rights* of the **Church** can't be violated, but your *Religion* (or, at least, the *Exercise* of it) will become precarious: Neither can those of the **Crown** be invaded, without involving every private Subject (and more especially *You*, who by *Principle* are the most inviolably attach'd thereto) in the *Common Calamity*. For, such hath formerly been, and I hope still may be, the Characteristick of that *Church*, of which we are Members, that it hath stood unshaken in its *Loyalty* among all the Storms of Fury, and Paroxysms of Madness, which have seized our Nation. For neither the *Rage* of the *Heathen*, nor Madness of the *People*, that imagined a vain Thing; not the *Fears* and Rumours of *Innovations* in *Religion*, dressed up with all the amazing Circumstances of *Horror*; not secret Underminings, and open Batteries; not the Force of Threatning, nor Power of Perswasion;



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‘ on ; nor all other Stratagems of re-  
‘ bellious Minds, could ever draw off  
‘ one *True Son* of the *Church* from his  
‘ *Allegiance* and *Loyalty* : *Loyalty* being  
‘ the Badge of the *Church* and *Clergy* of  
‘ *England* ; and there being no truer  
‘ *Shibboleth* to distinguish her *True Sons*,  
‘ from those that are *Spurious* and *pre-*  
‘ *tended Ones* ’ (a).

And yet, it is not *your* Concern alone,  
but that of every *English* Subject. For  
since, as hath been lately well observed,  
‘ the *King* has at least the *same* Right  
‘ with every private Person, and a  
‘ much *greater* Right, as he sustains the  
‘ Person and Fortunes of *every private*  
‘ *Man* in that Community , (b), It  
follows, that whenever the *Rights* of  
the *King* are injuriously attempted, those  
of *every private Subject* must be sensibly  
affected ; and consequently, *every private*  
*Subject* in the Community, ought to  
in-

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(a). Heyrick's *Serm.* 26. *Jul.* 1685. p. 10, 11. (b). *Serm.*  
at *Worcest.* 7 *June* 1716, by *E. Chandler*, D. D. &c. p. 11.

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interests himself therein, and make it his own Case. But, that this is even our indispensable Duty, we have also the express Authority and Evidence of our *Blessed Saviour*; who, in what he says relating to himself, plainly intimates, That, whenever a *King's* Person, or Rights, are in Danger, from either the Hands, Pens, or Tongues of his Enemies, it is the *Duty* of all his Subjects to assist him, by all manner of Ways, and when Occasion requires it, to *fight that he should not be delivered to his Jewish Enemies* (a).

‘ This, my Brethren, (to use the Words of a late Eminent *Divine*) is not only the *Best*, but the *Only True Cause* of God in this World, for which *All* Subjects are *bound in Conscience* to Fight; the Cause of their *Lawful Sovereign*, that which he authorizes, either by his Person, or his Commission, or his Allowance (b).

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(a). *St. John. xviii. 36.* (b) *Sprat's Serm. Apr. 20. 1682*

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The fatal Consequences of the Neglect of this Duty, in the Beginning of the Troubles of our **Royal Martyr**, argue strongly also, from *our own Experience*, as *Englishmen*, against the like Negligence, whenever it pleases God Almighty, for our *National Sins*, to afflict us with the like *National Judgments*.

For, *then*, our undoubted *Lawful Sovereign* was, by his *Natural-born* and *sworn Subjects*, *Resisted*, *Imprisoned*, *Deposed*, and *Murdered*: His undoubted *Son and Heir* first driven into *Popish Countries*, for Protection and Subsistence, and then, under a Charge of *Popery*, &c. *Renounced*, *Attainted*, *Abjured*, and a *Price* (much greater than *Thirty Pieces of Silver*) set upon his *Head*; tho' in Truth, if he had been a *Papist* indeed, it had been his *Misfortune* only, but *their own Fault*.

For, (as a late *Divine* observed) those *Rebels*, ' by banishing the *Royal Family*, cast them into the very *Jaws* ' of *Popery* and *Seduction*, and not only



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ly led but drove them into Temptation.'

Upon which he expostulates thus.

'And now will these Fellows plunge

'Men over Head and Ears in a Ditch,

'and then knock out their Brains, for

'having a Spot upon their Clothes?

'kindle a Flame round about them,

'and then, with tragical Outcries, re-

'proach them for being singed? Do

'all that they can, compassing even

'Sea and Land, to make a Profelyte

'to Popery, and then strip him of his

'Inheritance for being so? O! the

'Equity, Reason, and Humanity of a

'True Protestant, Fanatic Zeal! Much

'according to the Devil's Method,

'first to draw Men to Sin, and then to

'damn and destroy them for it (a)!'

But further, the *Bishops and Clergy*,  
who adhered to the Ancient and Or-  
thodox Doctrines of the Church of  
ENGLAND, were turned out of their  
Freeholds by pretended Acts or Ordinan-

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ces

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(a) South's Serm. Vol. vi. p. 27, 28.

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ces of a Rebel Parliament: And others (after the Order of Jeroboam!) Treasonably and Schismatically brought upon the Stage, to act the Parts of Kings and Priests in the respective Offices of the Church and Kingdom of Christ! Our Ancestors, the True Churchmen and Loyal Subjects, were forced to retire into Upper Rooms, (as their Exemplars, the Primitive Christians, did, in the Time of the like Persecutions) (a) there privately to pray unto that God, who seeth in Secret; (b) (nay, and the good King himself, for Want of his Orthodox Clergy, was, during his Confinement, glad to be his own Chaplain in his Bedchamber, rather than join with the intruded Schismatics); while the Pulpits and Parish-Churches were open to every body, but such as had the Right and Lawful Call to them! Then, as a faithful and conscientious Adherence to the Lawful King was accounted High Treason; so to serve

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(a) Acts ii. 13, &c.

(b) St. Math. vi. 6. xviii. 19.

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serve God, according to *his own Institution*, was reckoned an *High Crime and Misdemeanour*! And, in a Word, the *best Subjects* were frequently *sequester'd*, and other ways reduced to Rags and Poverty, for the Sake of a *good Conscience*; while the *Usurpers*, and their *Adherents*, by the Means of unwarrantable *Compliances*, received their *good Things* in this Life, being clothed in *Purple and fine Linnen*, and *faring sumptuously every Day* (a)!

To bring all which about, those *audacious Rebels* began first with *Jealousies and Fears* (as they pretended) of *Popery*; which they falsely and maliciously insinuated against the *best King*, and one of the *best Archbishops*, that the *best of Churches* was ever bless'd with. *Falsely*, I say, to shew their Malice: Though, if the *King* had indeed been of *that Church*, it would not have follow'd, that *our Church* must have been

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ruin'd;

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(a) St. Luke xvi. 19, 25.



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ruin'd ; since ' we might have a Freedom of Religion under a *Popish* Government, and a *Popish* Direction (a).'

And besides, as we have God's repeated Promises to take care of his *Church* in all its *Dangers*, there is nothing for *Us* to do, but to use *Lawful Means* only for its Security, and trust in *Him* for the Effect. Whereas the contrary Procedure, of *Reviling*, *Resisting*, *Imprisoning*, *Deposing*, *Banishing*, or *Murthering* God's *Lawful* Vicegerent, under the specious Pretence of *securing Religion*, is condemned by all true *Englishmen*, all true *Protestants*, all true *Christians*. For 'tis certain, that ' no ' *Jealousies* or *Fears*, no threatning ' *Dangers* can justify any unwarrantable ' Means of our *Preservation*, or make us ' forget our *Duty* to *God* and the ' *King!*' (b). No! That is going to the *Devil* for Help in *God's Cause* ; and is

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(a) B. Hoadl. *Serm.* 22. Mar. 1707.  
Adams's *Serm. against Rebell.* 1716. p. 24.

(b) Mr. Sam.

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is acting upon the Principles of those who hold it lawful to *do Evil that Good may come* ; of whom the inspired *Apostle* has declared, that their *Damnation is just !* (a).

However, thus those pretended *Patriots* acted : And having instilled that groundless Apprehension of *Popery* into the credulous Mobb, as the necessary and unavoidable Consequence thereof, (and, as if *Englishmen* had all been *Slaves* to the *Popish Kings* before the *Reformation !* ) they alarmed the Nation, with the Danger of **Tyranny** and **Arbitrary Power !**

Then their Business was, by their *seditious Pamphlets and Sermons*, to prejudice the unthinking Multitude against the Government, both in *Church and State*, as *Usurpations* upon the *Liberties of the Free-born People !* and to persuade them to exert themselves, in  
order

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(a) See Bradf. *Serm.* 5. Nov. 1696. and Milb. 3c. Jan. 1715. Rom. iii. 8.

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order to the Recovery of their pretended *Native Freedom*.

The better to do which, they impudently asserted (and demurely quoted the *Holy Scriptures*, as if they could have found Evidence in the *Word of God* against his own Institutions!) that neither the *Regal*, nor *Episcopal* Power had any Ground or Foundation in the sacred Records; but that all Power, *Ecclesiastical* as well as *Civil*, was radically, or originally, in the *People*, and therefore but a *Trust*, which the *Trustees* must be accountable for to them; and consequently, that the *People* might justly *Deprive* the One, and *Depose* the Other (yet, and *Murder* Both) whenever, they thought, the *Publick Good* might be advanced thereby.

These, and the rest of their *rebellious* Tenets were so manifestly contrary to *Scripture*, *History*, *Law*, *Reason*, and even to *Common Sense* too, that many (and among those that good *King* himself, whose *Credulity* and *Clemency* were his



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his greatest, if not his only Faults) would not be perswaded to suspect the Sense, as well as Loyalty, of the People of *England*, so far, as to apprehend any Danger therefrom. But alas! (so little Assurance is there of the Affections of the Multitude, that) when it was too late to rectify it, they were all convinced of their Mistake: Infomuch, that when the *King* issued his *Declaration*, in *Answer* to that of the 5<sup>th</sup> of *May*, 1642, concerning the *Militia*, he attributed the chief Cause of all those Troubles, to those very *Pamphlets* and *Papers*, which he had before thought *below the High and Royal Dignity*, wherein God had placed him, to take Notice of. And therein *His Majesty* complained, That ‘ whilst the *Presses* ‘ swarmed with, and every Day produced new Tracts against the Establish’d Government of the *Church and State*, most Men wanted the *Courage* ‘ or the *Conscience* to write, or the Opportunity and Encouragement to publish

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‘lish such composed sober Animadver-  
‘sions, as might either preserve the  
‘Minds of his good Subjects from such  
‘Infection, or restore and recover  
‘them, when they were so in-  
‘fected (a).’

Agreeably to which, the Great  
Council of the Nation, in a *Lawful*  
*Parliament* Assembled, after the *Happy*  
*Restoration* of the *Son and Heir* of the  
*Royal Martyr*, declared the true Sense  
of a *Free People*, as follows; ‘That the  
‘Growth and Encrease of the (*then*)  
‘late Troubles and Disorders did, in  
‘a very great Measure, proceed from  
‘a Multitude of Seditious *Sermons*,  
‘*Pamphlets*, and *Speeches*, daily prea-  
‘ched and published, with a tranſcen-  
‘dant Boldness, defaming the Person  
‘and Government of *His* (*then*) *Ma-*  
‘*jesty* and his *Royal Father*, wherein  
‘Men were too much encouraged:  
‘And, *above all*, from the wilful Mi-  
‘stake

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(a) Clarend. *Hist. Rebell.* Vol. 1. p. 522. in 8vo.

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‘ stake of the **Supream and Law-**  
‘ **ful Authority**, whilst Men were  
‘ forward to cry up and maintain those  
‘ **Orders and Ordinances, Oaths**  
‘ and **Covenants**, to be Acts *Legal*  
‘ and *Warrantable*, which, in them-  
‘ selves, had **not the least Colour**  
‘ **of Law or Justice to support**  
‘ **them.** From which kind of Di-  
‘ stempers, as *the present Age it not*  
‘ *wholly freed*, so *Posterity* may be apt  
‘ to *relapse* into them, if timely Reme-  
‘ dy be not provided (a). ’

If then, according to the *Sense of the*  
*Nation* (which is never to be truly  
known but in such *Free Parliaments*)  
the *late Troubles and Disorders* (confe-  
quent upon the *Grand Rebellion* which  
we *this Day* commemorate) did indeed in  
a *very great Measure*, proceed from *seditious*  
*Sermons, Pamphlets, and Speeches* ;  
and above all, from the *wilful Mistake*  
of the *Supreme and Lawful Authority*, &c.

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(a) Stat. xiii. Car. 2. Cap. 1.



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(as you see they did) ; how much does it behove all **True Churchmen** and **Loyal Subjects** to encounter such *feditious Sermons, Pamphlets, and Speeches,* and, *above all,* to do their utmost Endeavour to give their Fellow Subjects a true Notion of the *Supreme and Lawful Authority,* the *Mistake* of which, it seems, has been so destructive to our Nation ! *Remember this,* therefore, *and shew your selves Men (a) ! Subjects ! Christians !* And since (we have the same Authority to say, that) *the present Age is not wholly freed from those kind of Distempers,* see that you watch against them, and stand fast in *Faith (and Loyalty) ! quit you like Men ! Be strong (b) !* So that, it may please God, a *timely Remedy* being happily provided, neither we, nor our *Posterity,* may hereafter be subject to so fatal a *Relapse.* But, if it should be our Misfortune *now,* as it was *then,* that *Men want the Courage or the Con-*  
*science*

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(a) *Isa.* xlv. 8.      (b) *1. Co.* xvi. 13.

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science, to oppose such a growing Evil, whilst it is in their Power, how just will it be in Almighty God to give us up to be a Prey to the like Usurpations, and to consume both us and our King (a)! --- which God avert.

‘ What the State of Things is now, ---  
‘ I shall not need to observe. We all  
‘ see it, and know it full well. And  
‘ if I should say moreover, that  
‘ there are some still among us, as  
‘ deeply tainted with those Principles of Sedition and Rebellion, which brought about this Day’s Tragedy, as any of their Fathers were; and who, if they had liv’d in their Days, would have been as forward as the forwardest of them were, in unhinging the Government, and destroying the Church, nay, and in bringing their Sovereign to the Block; though some perhaps would be angry at my Saying this, I fear it would be only for  
c 2 my

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(a.) 1. Sam. xii. 25.

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‘my speaking a Truth out of Season;  
‘and they, I believe, would be most  
‘angry with me for saying it, who  
‘best know it to be a Truth (a).’

That I might offer my Mite towards  
the putting a Stop to so contagious a  
*Distemper* (at least so far as the *Holy*  
*Scriptures* are concerned), and in Hopes  
that I might in some Measure contri-  
bute, either to preserve the *Minds* of his  
Majesty’s good Subjects from such *Infecti-*  
*ons*, or restore and recover some of those  
who were already infected, by the noto-  
rious Abuse and Perversion thereof, I  
took the *Courage* (rather than be liable  
to the Imputation of the *Want of Consci-*  
*ence*, which the **Martyr of this Day**  
complains of) to offer to the Publick,  
*A short History of the Regal Succession,*  
*and the Rights of the several Kings recor-*  
*ded in the Holy Scriptures*; wherein it  
abundantly appears, how far the *Re-*  
*publican* and *Erastian* Schemes are from  
being



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being warranted by those *Sacred Records*, to which our *Modern Assertors* (as they call themselves) of the *Rights of the Christian Church*, and the *Liberties of the People*, have the Confidence to appeal for the Truth of them.

For there we find not the least Footstep of a **State of Nature** (when Men are pretended to have been *born free* from any Yoke of Government, that is, literally, **Sons of Belial!**) No **Popular Election** of **Kings** or **Priests!** No **Original Contract** betwixt the *Governours* and *Governed!* No **Coercion** upon their *Sacred Persons!* Nor any **Resistance**, **Rebellion**, or even **Self-Defence** against (much less any **Deposition** or **Murder** of) the **Lord's Anointed**, but what is plainly condemned by the *Holy Ghost*. But, on the contrary, there we find Evidence as clear as the Sun, that *Government* (and even the **Monarchical Form** thereof) was *originally* instituted by *God* himself; That the *Succession* there-

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thereto was, as well by the Law of God as by that of *Nature*, *Hereditary* from Father to Son, and so to the *Next of Kin*, whether Male or Female, according to *Priority of Birth* and *Proximity of Blood*, without Regard to other *Personal Endowments* or *Qualifications*. That though such *Succession* was sometimes defeated, and the Reins of Government put into other Hands, yet whenever such *Revolutions* happened, they were always held as *Unlawful* and *Usurpations*, unless they carried with them very plain Evidence of their being the *Lord's Doing* (as in the Cases of *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*): That as *Kings* were *unaccountable* to the People, for their Administration in the *State*, so were the *High Priests*, in the *Church*, absolutely independent upon the *State*, in Relation to the Exercise of their *Spiritual Powers*; and a *Schism* in the *Church* was formed against the *One*, in the same Manner as a *Rebellion* and *Usurpation* in the *State* were formed against the *Other*:  
And

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And accordingly they are our *Lawful* Governours, both in *Church* and *State*, to whom alone, (and not to every *Oliver*, or other *Usurper* or *Intruder*, who gets Possession of the *Regal* or *Episcopal Throne*) our Obedience is due, by the *Apostolical Precepts* (a).

While that was in the Press, another Book happened to be published upon the same Subject, intituled, **Scripture Politicks**, or, *An impartial Account of the Origin and Measures of Government, Ecclesiastical and Civil, taken out of the Books of the Old and New Testament, &c.* by *William Whiston*, M. A. &c. 1717.

This raised my Curiosity, to see, how far I had the Happiness to agree with a Person, whose Name is so well known. But, upon the Perusal thereof, I found his *Scripture Politicks* and mine so very much unlike, as if they had not been taken out of the same *Record*: For I observed, that that Gentle-

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(a) *Rom. xiii. 1. Titus iii. 1. Hebr. xiii. 17. 1. Pet. ii. 13.*



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man had taken a great deal of Pains to make *his Bible* a Warrant for the *Republican Scheme of Government*; whereas my Observations therefrom were directly to the contrary. However, I had so humble an Opinion of *my own Judgment*, that I brought as many of the controverted Passages, as my Time would allow me, to the Test of the *Bible*, to which we severally referred our selves, for our Vouchers: And, upon the Comparison, I affirm, that in *my Bible* (of which I have several Editions) I could find no manner of Cause for me to have altered any thing in my *short History*, had the Copy been in my own, as it was in the *Printer's Hands*. But, since I found so many, and so very great (even *Fundamental*) Variances between us, lest the unwary Reader should be drawn into dangerous Errors, without Examination, I took Occasion, in a short *Postscript*, to give a general Caution against it, as followeth. ' Since ' the foregoing *short History* was put to ' the

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the Press, I have seen Mr. *Whiston's* new Book of *Scripture Politicks*; wherein, upon a transient View, I find, that that *Celebrated Author's* Judgment does Honour to my Observations, in many Particulars. For, whoever has carefully read over *these Sheets*, must needs, by this Time, be convinced, that Mr. *Whiston* is notoriously mistaken, where he affirms, that it appears in *Scripture*, that nothing, in Ordinary Cases, but the free Choice or Recognition of a People, gives a just Title to a Prince to govern them (a); as well as in several Propositions and Arguments tending to the Proof thereof (b). I could likewise point out many Places of that Book, wherein the *Author* seems to have studied other *Politicks* more than those of the *Holy Scriptures*; but, as that would lead me beyond the Bounds of this my Undertaking, I shall, at present leave the Particulars

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(a) *Dedicat. p. iii.* (b) *See Propos. viii. Sec.*

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‘ lars to our impartial Reader’s own  
‘ Animadversion. I know, Mr. *Whi-*  
‘ *ston* has too great an Aversion to *Po-*  
‘ *pery*, to pretend to *Infallibility* : And  
‘ therefore, I hope, he will not take  
‘ it ill, that I have made a little free  
‘ with his *Name* and *Writings*. How-  
‘ ever, if he does, I desire no Favour  
‘ from him, but only this, that the  
‘ *Holy Bible* may be allowed for the  
‘ *Rule* of our *Scripture Politicks*. ’

Upon this, I expected that he would either have offered some better Proof of his *Propositions*, which I had thus charged with *notorious Mistakes*, or else have called upon me to make good my Charge, by exhibiting the particular Articles of that general Impeachment : But, all in vain ! Mr. *Whiston*’s Reputation in *Scripture Politicks* is (it seems) so well established, that nothing I can say needs to give him the Trouble of a Vindication ; and that of a poor *Anonymous Writer* is not worth any other judicious Person’s Notice ; so that hitherto



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therto, as Mr. *Whiston's* is undefended, so my little Book remains unconfuted, unanswered. I own indeed that I have met with some few Hints, in accidental Conversation, which have convinced me that I was too *short* in the Explanation of two or three Particulars: But I never yet have read or heard of any thing therein mistaken, except only one Passage, in the Case of *Jehoabaz* the Son of *Josiah*, and some few trivial *Errata* of the Press.

In this therefore (to which I have been induced by several Motives, needless here to be mentioned) I have not only taken Care to correct that Oversight, but have also intermixed *Remarks* upon several Cases, as I had Opportunity to meet with them, misreported, by Mr. *Whiston*, and several others; though in Truth the Number of such misreported Cases is so great, and those *Writers* and *Preachers*, who laid themselves open to Censure for it, so many, that I had not Room to take

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proper Notice of them all. I might add, that several of them are so very high in Place, and the Esteem of the World, that it might have been more for my own private *Interest* (had I consulted *that* more than I do the *Truth*) to have let them quite alone: But whilst our Controversy is about the *Holy Scriptures*, which ought to be the Rule of our Conduct in every thing, the more eminent and popular the Persons are who appear on the other Side of the Question, so much the more Danger is there of *Infection* therefrom, and so much the more Necessity for us to be upon our Guard against it.

Perhaps indeed I should not have troubled you with particular *Remarks* upon Mr. *Whiston's* **Anti-Scriptural Politicks** (after such a general Censure of them) had he stood alone, and not been seconded and supported by some, whose Notions, though every whit as pernicious, are not usually read with so good a Guard as those of Mr. *Whiston*, and therefore are the more capable

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pable of doing Mischief. Besides which, as *theirs* are scattered abroad in many different *Pamphlets* and *Sermons*, but *his* reduced to the narrow Compass of one Book, I thought, that in confuting *him*, I should confute *them*; and the same Answer that you meet with here, to his Abuse of the *Holy Scripture*, will serve any of the rest, wheresoever you find them; which is the Reason I have so rarely quoted any other.

For my own Part, so long as I have the *Holy Scriptures* for my *Foundation*, and you *True Churchmen* and *Loyal Subjects* for my *Patrons*, I should not have been discouraged, in the Quest or Defence of the *Truth*, tho' I could have apprehended, that I was, in so doing, necessarily to *wrestle against* Principalities, *against* Powers, *against* the Rulers of the *Darkness of this World*, *against* Spiritual Wickedness in High Places (a).

I might also have presumed upon the *Laws of the Land*, as my *Warrant*: But, as that is, at present, out of my Sphere,  
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(a) *Ephes. vi. 12.*



## The DEDICATION.

my Concern here being wholly with those of God, and this my Undertaking confined to *Scripture Politicks*, I shall leave it to others, to clear our *Constitution*, from the Suspicion of favouring such Notions, as are utterly destructive of all manner of *Government* in the World. Tho' I cannot but observe, that the same Free Parliament, which attainted the *Regicides*, for the execrable Murther of their *Lawful King*, did also expressly 'renounce, abominate, and protest against **All Proceedings tending thereto (b).**' And consequently therefore against all those *seditious Sermons, Pamphlets, and Speeches*, from whence (as is before proved) the *Growth and Increase of the then late Troubles and Disorders* did in a very great Measure proceed.

But I must not forget to make some Apology for my self, with Regard to the *Stile*, which I am aware may be liable to various Objections. 'Tis certain, that fine Language and well-turn'd Periods

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(a) Stat. xii. Car. II. Cap. xxx.

## The DEDICATION.

Periods, would have much better recommended the Discourse to the *Common Reader's* Favour: But as I always thought That to be the best Expression, which had the best Effect upon the Judgment and Practice of those to whom it was addressed, so, in this Treatise of the *Constitution* of the *Jewish Government*, I chose to express my self in such Terms, as have a known and determined Sense and Meaning, among those whom I am to expect for my *Readers*; and therefore I perswade my self, that *You* will not be Critical, but overlook the unpolished Dress it appears in, and receive the *Truth* to your Protection, for its own sake.

And now, what remains, but that all of us, in our respective Stations, apply our selves dutifully and diligently to the putting a Stop to those *Pernicious Doctrines*, and *Traiterous Practices*, which have heretofore overwhelmed both our *Church* and *State* in one Ruine? Wherein, that our Endeavours may have the better Effect, so as that those horrid  
Sins

## *The DEDICATION.*

Sins which we have this Day renounc'd, may never be repeated, at least in this our Nation, let us learn, before it be too late, to live in the *true Faith* and *Fear of God*, in *true Loyalty* and *Obedience* to his *Vicegerent*, and in *Brotherly Love* and *Charity* one towards another; and then we may, with the greater Assurance, address ourselves to the *King of Kings* and *Governour of all Things*, in the Words of our most excellent *Liturgy*, to *insatuate* and *defeat* all the *secret Counsels* of the *Ungodly*; to *abate* their *Pride*, *assuage* their *Malice*, and *confound* their *Devices*; to *strengthen* the *Hands* of our *gracious Sovereign*, with *Judgment* and *Justice*, to *cut off* all such *Workers of Iniquity*, as *turn Religion* into *Rebellion*, and *Faith* into *Faction*; that they may never again prevail against us, nor triumph in the *Ruine* of the *Monarchy* and his *Church* amongst us; which is the hearty *Prayer* of

Your Well-wisher and

Humble Servant,

J. L.





THE SHORT  
HISTORY  
OF THE

*Regal Succession, &c.*



HAVING oftentimes, with great Concern, observed, how much the Minds of *His Majesty's* Subjects are distracted, by the various Glosses, which *Artful and Designing Men* have put upon the Succession of several of the *Kings* recorded in the *Holy Scriptures*, (every one of them endeavouring to make the Word of God serve his own Turn, whereby *plausible Arguments* are often pass'd upon the unwary Reader for *Authentick Evidence*) (a) I could not but think, it would be of Service to my Countrymen, to lay before them *A short History of the Regal Succession, and the Rights of the several Kings,*

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(a) *Whist. Script. Polit. Dedicat. P. 20.*

*in those sacred Records.* And as my only End in this Publication is to prevent a Delusion, and undeceive the deluded: So the best Mean thereto, is, in as Plain and Summary a Manner, as the Nature of the Subject will bear, to continue it down from the beginning of all Things, so far as God's People had any Independent Government among them.

In the doing of which, I have too awful a Regard for the Subject, to presume to deal unfaithfully with it: And, as to the *Christian Reader*, I have by constantly quoting *Chapter and Verse*, laid my self at his Mercy to correct me wherever I may happen to be mistaken.

That all just Government whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, must be Originally derived from God, who is the only Supream, and un-originated, and natural Lord, and Governour of the World: And that they do all some way or other, receive their Sanction from Divine Authority, is not only admitted, but asserted, by Mr. Whiston himself; whose first Fundamental Proposition this is. And this he justly thinks to be so evident to all who believe a God, a Providence, and the Truth of the Scripture, as not to need a particular Proof to them. And " as for those, (says he,) who suppose  
 " Government to have originally sprang up from  
 " meer Human Compacts, and from the People, independently on God, and without any Regard  
 " to his Will and Authority, they seem to me to  
 " suppose Men to have Sprung out of the Earth,  
 " and not to have had God for their Creator: And  
 " also to suppose that all Government has no higher  
 " End to aim at, than the Conveniencies of this  
 " present Life; both which things are entirely contrary to Religion, and utterly inconsistent with  
 " the sacred History of the Origin and primitive  
 " Exercise of Government among Men. So that  
 " this cannot deserve a serious Consideration under the present Argument of Scripture Politicks,  
 " but,

“ but must be left to the *Irreligious Schemes* of the “ *Atheists and Unbelievers,*” (a) &c. So evident is the *Divine Original of Government,* by *Mr. Whiston's* own Argument ! From which his Proposition, it necessarily follows, that *no Governments, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil* which cannot be *Originally derived from God,* or do not, *some way or other, receive their Sanction from Divine Authority,* are to be esteemed *just Governments.*

And as to the particular *Forms* thereof, whoever believes the *Mosaical Account* of the Creation, and Judges impartially of what he reads, cannot doubt, that *Monarchy* was the first and original Form of Government, and that too *instituted immediately by God himself,* from the beginning of the World. For we read, that as soon as *God* had created the *Man,* he gave him a *Sceptre,* and made him his *Vicegerent* (as *Bishop Andrews* expresseth it,) (b) giving him *Dominion over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over every Living thing that moveth upon the Earth* (c); his *Wife* herself not excepted, to whom the Lord said, *thy Desire shall be to thy Husband,* (or, as it is in our Margin, *Subject to thine Husband*) and he shall Rule over thee (d). Which last, being spoken after *Adam* had sinned, plainly sheweth us, that his *Dominion* was not founded in *Grace*; that is to say, in his *personal Virtue, Goodness and Desert.*

When *God* had Blessed them with *Children,* it pleased him, that the *Father,* by his *paternal Authority,* was sole Ruler or *Monarch* over them, and all that proceeded from them, during his Life, ruling them with a Power *Patriarchal, Regal, or Imperial* (e): As every Father would and might do, even

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(a) *Script. Polit. p. 1.* (b) *Lectur. fol. 96.* (c) *Genes. i. 28*  
(d) — *iii. 16.* (e) *Bishop Overal's Convoc. Book, Lib. 1. Cap. 2.*



at this Day, supposing him and his Family to fall into any Places which were not governed by any superiour Lord. And, for the better ordering of the Sons and their Families, the Elder was, by God himself, declared Ruler over the Younger. For, tho' Cain was a very Wicked Man, and Abel a Righteous one, insomuch that the Lord had respect unto Abel, and his Offering, but unto Cain, and to his Offering, he had not respect (a): Yet, even to this very Wicked Cain it was, that the Lord, speaking of his Good Brother Abel, said, *Unto thee shall be his Desire, and thou shalt Rule over him*, (b) or, (as it is in the Margin) thou shalt have the Excellency, and he shall be subject unto thee; so that neither was his Dominion founded in Grace, but in Nature only, by virtue of his Primogeniture.

I'm willing therefore to hope, that Mr. Whiston had not this Case of Cain and Abel in his Thoughts, when he expressed himself as followeth; "we have not, that I know of, one Example, in all the Bible, where Providence gives the least Preference to the Eldest Son, in Point of Government, before the Youngest; I mean this (says he) barely on Account of such Primogeniture, and without regard to more valuable Personal Qualifications" (c): For nothing can be more clear, than that the more valuable Personal Qualifications were Abel's, and that it was barely on Account of Primogeniture, that the Preference in point of Government was given to Cain the Eldest Son. And, as this is full to the purpose, so it ought to have the greater Weight, for being the First and General Rule in those Cases; especially with Mr. Whiston, who, but Eight Pages before, has himself placed this very Case among the (not Human but) Divine Laws; where he

(a) Gen. iv. 4.

(b) Gen. iv. 7.

(c) Script. Polit.

he owns, that "it seems to him to imply, then  
 "at least, the Inferiority, and in some Degree,  
 "the Subjection of the Younger Children to the Elder,  
 "while they were under their Parents Authority,  
 "and in the same Family, even without regard to  
 "their Virtue. (a) "

This is a full Concession, that there was such a  
 Law or Rule, in the beginning, in favour of the  
 Eldest Son against the Younger, in Point of Government,  
 barely on Account of Primogeniture; and that too  
 not Human, but Divine. But Mr. Whiston seems  
 to make it a Question, "Whether that Law did  
 "continue in Force afterwards, because of Cain's  
 "Abuse of that Power? And whether it were a  
 "Law indeed, or only a particular Injunction in  
 "a particular Case? (b) " Now, that it could  
 be a particular Injunction, made in this particular Case,  
 I see no Reason to suppose: Nor can I imagine how  
 that Author (who builds so much of his Scripture  
 Politicks, upon the Foundation of Personal Virtue,  
 Goodness, and Desert) could fancy Cain, whose Of-  
 ferings God would not look upon, should never-  
 theless be so far in his favour, as to gain the Pre-  
 ference in Point of Government, before his Younger  
 Brother Abel, whose Offerings God had graciously  
 accepted; and that too, at the very time, that  
 (God knew) he had premeditated in his Heart, to  
 murder his more Righteous Brother, on Account  
 of that very Acceptance! Is it possible for him to  
 suppose, that Personal Virtue, Goodness, and Desert  
 should preponderate with God, in the Disposal of such  
 Favours, in all other Cases, and yet that Cain only  
 should be singled out as a particular Object of the  
 Divine Favour, who had not the least pretence of  
 Personal Virtue, Goodness, and Desert, to entitle him  
 thereto?

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(a) Ibid. p. 5. (b) Ibid.

## 6      *The short HISTORY of*

thereto? Nay, who was *destitute of God's Countenance and Favour*, as *St. Chrysostom* expounds, what we call *going out from the Presence of the Lord* (a)? But I leave it to the *Author* to reconcile this Contradiction! And, since there is no Reason to think this to have been only a *Particular Injunction in a Particular Case*, we must receive it for a *Law or General Rule*; and conclude, that it *did continue in Force*, notwithstanding *Cain's Abuse of that Power*, which was not unforeseen by *God*, when he declared his *Natural Right* to the *Prerogative of Primogeniture*. Nor does it seem to me without much better Reason to suppose, that *God Almighty*, foreknowing the many Objections that *Worldly-minded Men* would start, in Opposition to this *Divine Law*, thought fit to declare and affirm it, even in the Case of the *worst Elder Brother* that ever lived. For *God* does not here bestow upon *Cain* any new Privilege, but only confirms unto him what was, by *Nature*, his Right; and argues with him the Unreasonableness of his Discontent, upon Principles well known and established from the Beginning: as *St. Chrysostom* most truly expounds it, *Notwithstanding thou hast thus greatly sinned (viz. in not offering to me the first and best of thy Substance, as thy Brother Abel did), yet I have not Deprived thee of the Privileges of thy Primogeniture; but he shall still be subject to thee, as by the Law of Nature is thy Due*. Agreeably to which, the *Learned Bishop* above-quoted, in this very Case, observeth, That “*God shewed plainly, that it is his Will, that in and by the Sin committed, no Man should lose any Privilege, which of Right is due to him, and which before he had; and every Motion, in a Superiour, to Sin, doth not discharge him of his Authority*. Which is contrary  
“ to

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(a) *Genes. iv. 16.*



“ to that false Opinion and Censure of them, which  
 “ think, that even *Princes* themselves, after Sin  
 “ committed, lose all their *Prerogative* and *Supre-*  
 “ *macy* of Government which they had before, and  
 “ that their *Subjects* are not bound to do their  
 “ Service any longer to them, but that ever after, their  
 “ *Allegiance* shall cease; which is false, and contrary  
 “ to all Reason, and not God’s Intent and Will here.  
 “ For God saith, and ratifieth here, that *Cain*, tho’  
 “ he had thus sinned, both against God and his  
 “ Brother; yet, being the *Elder* and *First-born*, and  
 “ so before *Abel*, so there should be a *Superiority* and  
 “ *Dominion*, that he should still retain by Nature.  
 “ And it is God’s Assertion, that that *Superiority*  
 “ should be retained still, and that *Abel* should not  
 “ seek to be his *Superiour*; neither did he (a) ”.

However, as this *Dominion* of *Cain* over his Brother  
 and Family, was in *Subordination* to the *First Parent*  
*Adam*, whilst he lived: So when he died, *Cain* him-  
 self succeeded in the *Sovereignty*, in his own Right, as  
 the *First-born*; and, after him, the *Eldest surviving*  
*Branch of the Family*, by virtue of *Proximity of Blood*.  
 (For, as the Great *St. Chrysostom* observeth, the *Line*  
 of *Cain*, and with it his *Primogeniture*, was extinct in  
*Lamech*, that is, at the *Flood*, and not till then :)  
 And hence it came, that the Word *Elder* is used,  
 as well for *Magistracy* and *Power*, as for *Age* and  
*Gravity*, almost in all Languages; which, no doubt,  
 (as another *Judicious Author* observeth,) “ is a Sign,”  
 “ that the first *Governours* were the *Fathers of Fami-*  
 “ *lies*, and under them the *Eldest Sons* (b) ”.

Thus we see, that *Adam’s Monarchy* was not only  
*Oeconomical*, confined to that one little Family which  
 was at first Created, but *Political* over a *Society*, con-  
 sisting of many Families, which were to descend  
 from

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(a) Andrew’s *Lect.* fol. 400. (b) *Sir Wa. Ral.* fol. 151, 152.

## 8      *The short HISTORY of*

from him, during his long Life of *Nine Hundred and Thirty Years* (a); which is the very Ground and Foundation of *political Government*, and particularly of that *Form* thereof, which, from *one single Person's* being the *Supreme* and *Chief* over all the rest, is called *Monarchy*. And this, by the way, might serve for a full Answer to *Mr. Whiston's* Assertion, That, "before the Flood, we have no direct Account of the *Form* or *Manner* of human Governments (b)": As well as to the *Appeal* of another *Celebrated Writer*, who recommends it to the *Consciences* and *Common Sense* of the *Christian Laity*, "To search with their own Eyes, and see, whether they can possibly find a plain and express *Passage* of *Scripture*, in which *God* instituted any particular *Form* of *Human Government*, for any Nation in the World, unless they will except one (c)"; of which in its proper Place. In the mean time, I beg leave to *Appeal* to the *Consciences* and *Common Sense* of all our Readers, Whether this is not a much more plain and express *Passage*, than any that *Learned Author* has ever yet been able to produce, either from *Scripture*, or the *Laws* of *England*, in Favour of certain of his *Darling Notions*? But further, as to *Mr. Whiston*, I refer him to his own *Second General Proposition*, where he agrees with me expressly, that "Paternal Authority over the *Children* of a Family, was the only *Form* of *Human Government*, among such as sprang from one common Parent, before the Multiplication of Mankind, or before their Separation, one from another, into different and distant Families" (d): And insists, that "this is so plainly the Result of the *Law* of *Nature*, or of the *Will* of *God*, declared, by the  
"Common

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(a) *Gen. v. 5.*    (b) *Script. Polit. p. 8.*    (c) *Preservat. against Novj. by B. Bang. p. 13.*    (d) *Script. Pol. p. 3.*

“ *Common Reason* of Mankind, and confirmed in the  
 “ *Bible* — that there is no need of a particular  
 “ *Proof*. Accordingly (says he) *Authority*, both  
 “ *Ecclesiastical* and *Secular*, was at first, in the  
 “ *same Paternal Hands*, both before and after the  
 “ *Flood*; and this for a considerable time also:  
 “ As appears in every Instance, both in *Genesis* and  
 “ *Job*; which are the only Original Authentic Re-  
 “ cords, of those first Ages ” (a): But, to  
 proceed,

As to the *Descendants* from *Adam*, we find those  
 of the *Elder Branch* first recorded, in a direct  
 Line, down to the *Flood* (b), wherein they were  
 all extinguished: And after that, as if there had  
 never been an *Elder Family*, the *Genealogy* of  
 the Line of *Seth* begins again, with the History  
 of *Man's Creation* (c), (tho' that had been delivered  
 before;) the better to make out the *Genealogy*  
 of *Noah*, who was to continue the *Succession* after  
 the *Flood*, as those had done before it. And yet,  
 tho' we read, that the *Patriarchs* severally begat  
*Sons and Daughters*, we find only the Names of the  
*Eldest* recorded, as the *Heads* and *Rulers* over their  
 respective *Families* and *People*, (all the rest being  
 passed over under the General Denomination of  
*Sons and Daughters*); till becoming generally dege-  
 nerate, through their *Affinity* and *Intercourse*  
 with the *Wicked Posterity* of *Cain* (d), *God* was  
 pleased to destroy their *Common Posterity*; ex-  
 cepting only *Noah*, who was a just Man and per-  
 fect (e), notwithstanding the fashionable *Wicked-*  
*ness* of the *World*, and walked with *God*, *stea-*  
*dily and zealously* (as *St. Chrysostom* expresseth it,) *not*  
*keeping some Commandments and breaking others, but*  
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(a) *Ibid.* p. 4. (b) *Gen. iv.* 17, &c. (c) — v. 1,  
 &c. (d) *Gen. vi.* 2. (e) *Gen. vi.* 9.



of Uniform Obedience, and Exact Integrity; and with him was his own Family only preserved.

Now, as before the Flood, Adam had been the *Universal Monarch* of the *Old World*, and, as such, had had the *Sole Property* of all that was in it, during his Life, and after him, his Heirs, in a direct Line of Succession: So, after the Flood, Noah was the *Universal Monarch*, and *sole Proprietor* of the *New*. And, whatever Property or Share, his Sons and Descendants afterwards had, in any part thereof, they had it all from him, and held it by his Donation and Allotment: And accordingly demitted it downwards to their Posterity, by His Assignment, and His Authority alone, as the Royal Fountain of all Honour and Property; and that too, without making any Contract or Terms, with the People, whom they were to govern, and consequently without being any way Limited by them. It is not therefore so Evident, (as some Men would persuade us) that, "in the Nature of the thing, "Private Property is before the Institution of a settled Government, because (as they Argue) the great End of that Institution is the Preservation of that Property! (a)" --- But this Question has been too much canvassed by the Learned, for me to meddle with; especially, in this Place, where it seems already to be sufficiently resolved, by the Holy Scripture. All therefore that I shall say to it further, is, That the Right (and truly) Reverend Bishop Sanderfon, occasionally speaking of the pretended Contract, which the Rebels, in his time, pleaded for, as an Evidence, that all Government was originally derived from the People, (which, by the way, he says, "never yet was proved, nor" (he dares say) will ever be proved, while the "World

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(a) *Preservat. against the Nonj.* by B. Bang. p. 89.

“ World standeth, either from *Scripture, Reason, or*  
 “ *History,*”) expresseth himself thus, “ True it is,  
 “ that a meer *Rationalist* (that is to say, an *Atheist*  
 “ *of the last Edition*) who giveth more Faith to such  
 “ *Heathen Philosophy,* as affirmeth the World to  
 “ have been *ab aeterno,* than to *Divine Revelation,*  
 “ which assureth us it had a beginning; (and some  
 “ of the *great Champions* of the Opinion we now  
 “ speak of, have given us Cause enough of *Suf-*  
 “ *picion* that they are little better): Such a one,  
 “ I say, cannot possibly Solve the Difficulty.  
 “ But to us, who believe the *Scriptures,* and acknow-  
 “ ledge a *Creation,* the Solution is easy: If we  
 “ will but follow the Clue of the *sacred History,* in  
 “ the four first Chapters of *Genesis,* it will fairly  
 “ lead us out of these *Labyrinths* in a plain way,  
 “ and without any great Trouble”. And then  
 my *Author* states the Case of *Government* and *Pro-*  
*perty,* to the Effect before-mentioned, and concludes,  
 upon the whole, both in *Hypothesis,* that *Adam's Go-*  
*vernment* was before *Cain's Property,* and in *Thesis,* that  
 undoubtedly *Government* was before *Property.* And  
 so, (says the *Bishop*) “ This supposed *Pact* or *Con-*  
 “ *tract,* which maketh such a Noise in the World,  
 “ proveth to be but a Squib, Powder without Shot,  
 “ that giveth a Crack, but vanisheth into Air,  
 “ and doth no Execution! (a)”. But, to return.

Noah, living *Three Hundred and Fifty Years* after  
 the Flood (b), his Posterity, according to *God's Bles-*  
 sing (c), were during his Life, grown exceeding  
 Numerous: Insomuch, that it was become neces-  
 sary that some Branches from the old Stock should  
 be split off, and transplanted into different Parts,  
 as well for their more convenient Subsistence, as for

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(a) *Pref. to Archb. Usher's Power of the Prince, &c. Sect.*  
*xv, xviii, &c.* (b) *Gen. ix. 28.* (c) — *ix. 1.*

## 12 The short HISTORY of

the better Division of the *Nations*; each of them having *Authority*, to be *Ruler*, over *his own People and Nation*; and thus of *them was the whole Earth overspread* (a). But nevertheless, as the New World was not divided and peopled, without a *Miracle*: So neither was it done without the greatest, and most exact Order imaginable, “either by casting  
“ of *Lots*, or chusing according to the Order of  
“ their *Birthright*, after some Survey taken, of a  
“ sufficient Portion of the Earth, and Portions bordered out according to the Number of their  
“ Nations, then of their Families ” &c. (b); God thus turning that which was imposed as a Judgment on them, to the Benefit of the World; for, at the same time, that God *Almighty* dispersed the *People*, by *confounding their Tongues at Babel* (c), he did not leave them, every one to shift for himself: But it pleased him to give to *every several Tribe*, or Branch of them, a *distinct Language*; so that it was Natural for them to settle together for the Benefit of *Conversation and Commerce*; and, whoever was the *Eldest* of the Tribe, was, of Course, by the *Laws of God and Nature*, the *Head and Ruler* thereof. Nay, the *Lord* himself, interposing his Authority, appointed them their several *Bounds*, as well as their *Rulers*: For, as *Moses* tell us, *When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance, when he separated the Sons of Adam, He set the Bounds of the People, according to the Number of the Children of Israel* (d); so also the Son of *Syrach* assures us, *In the Divisions of the Nations of the whole Earth, He set a Ruler over every People* (e); so that from hence also 'tis plain, that *Political Government* (and that too under the *Form of Hereditary Monarchies*) was by

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(a) Gen. ix. 19. (b) Mede's Works, fol. 274. (c) Gen. xi. 8.  
(d) Deut. xxxii. 8. (e) Eccus. xvii. 17.



by Divine Institution, as I have already observed; tho' certain Persons would fain perswade us that *Forms of Government* are only of *Human Determination*! For from these *Rulers* (whose Names are recorded, to the Number of *Seventy*) their respective *Kingdoms* descended in an *Hereditary Course of Succession*.

Thus were the *Nations of the Earth* divided, among the Posterity of *Noah*, every one after his Tongue, after their Families, in their Nations (a): many of which *Nations* are known by their Names, to this Day; as may be seen, by comparing together the several *Chapters* noted in the Margin (b). And, in all these, did the several *Patriarchs*, by virtue of their *Paternity* and *Eldership*, exercise a *Regal Power*, and that too in the most full and *Absolute* manner, as will be shewn hereafter, in its proper Place.

I shall not need to examine the *Succession* or Title of *Nimrod*, and the other *Kings* of the *Nations*; my present Inquiry being chiefly confined to the *Holy Seed of Shem*. But, in regard, that, in him, we are said to find "an Intimation of the Origin of *Kingly* or *Monarchical Government*" (c), I think it may be proper, after what I have already said on that Subject, to observe, that if, "at the first, the *Fathers* of Nations were as *Kings*, and the *Elders* of Families as *Princes*," as is owned by the *Author* (d), whom *Mr. Whiston* himself quotes to his Purpose, then, by Consequence, the *Origin* of *Kingly* or *Monarchical Government*, could not be in the Person of *Nimrod*; nor from the *People*, but from *God* only. No doubt, he was by good Right, and just Authority, Lord, or *King* over his own Family, as the other Heads of Families were: But, in that he

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(a) Gen. x. 5. (b) Gen. x. Isa. lxvi. Jer. li. Ezek. xxvii.—xxxviii. (c) Whist. Script. Polit. p. 10. (d) Ral. fol. 151.

he was not content with his own *Natural Sovereignty*, but enlarged his Dominion, by violently invading, and seizing on the Rights of other Lords of Families, whom he thereby made Subject to his Empire, it was against all *Natural Right*; and consequently can't be esteemed the *Origin of Kingly Government*, but an *Usurpation*; which our *Author* may make a *Precedent* of, whenever he may happen to have Occasion for such a one! And as to his Subsequent Observation, that "this Settlement  
 " was not made, by any *Particular Direction* from  
 " God, but by *Interest* and *Desert* and *Abilities*,  
 " ties, and the voluntary *Submission* of the People,  
 " &c." (a), I see no Conclusion, to be drawn from thence, more Natural than this, That, supposing a *Prince* to have *Interest* and *Desert* and *Abilities*, and the Voluntary *Submission* of the People, (though, by the Way, nothing of this appears in *Nimrod's Case*;) yet, if he be set up without any particular *Direction* from God, and against his written *Laws*, as well as the Law of *Nature*, he can be but an *Usurper* still, as *Nimrod* was. And therefore, whether he were the *youngest Son* of *Seth*, as *Mr. Whiston* supposes (b), or, whether he is mentioned alone (according to *St. Augustine*, and other Commentators) only as being the *most Eminent Person*, and to take Occasion to touch his *Tyranny*, I shall not dispute. All that I shall add, is a Remark of a *Learned Modern*, that "This *Nimrod* was certainly the  
 " *Belus* of the Ancients: And this Compellation,  
 " most probably, was not originally from his  
 " Birth, but was afterwards given him, because  
 " of his *Rebellion* against *Noah*, and his Alteration  
 " of the *Patriarchial Way* of Government, with  
 " the true Old Religion. For he was properly Ty-  
 " rannus

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(a) *Whist. ibid.* (b) *Script. Pal. p. 11.*

“ *rannus sine Titulo*, as could be made appear, on several Accounts, even to Demonstration. Whence he might be called *Bel* (or *Baal*) for his *Dominion*, and *Nimrod* for his *Rebellion*; as the Learned *Dr. Prideaux* well remarks (a) ”.

However, that even among the *Nations* too, the same Authority was maintained, according to the Law of Nature, or Common Consent of Mankind, will appear from the few Hints laid together, at the Close of this part of the *Regal History*: To which I reterr the Reader, whilst I proceed here, with the Succession of those that were within the Pale of the Church; among whom the *Paternal* or *Patriarchal* Power continued, till the *Egyptian* Bondage; where the *Exercise* of the *Patriarchial* Jurisdiction was intermitted, only because they were all in *Subjection* to a stronger Prince.

But, to be somewhat more particular. *Shem*, we find, is entitled the *Father of all the Children of Eber* (b): Whereby, the Scripture informs us, (as *St. Augustine* observes (c) ) that he was reputed the *Patriarch* of all that were to descend from him, *Sons, Grandsons, Great Grandsons, &c.* And *St. Jerom* notes (d), that from his *Sons*, who, upon the Dispersion, became *Heads*, several large *Nations* proceeded: As from *Elam*, the *Elamites*, Princes of *Persia*; from *Assur*, the *Assyrians*; from *Arphaxad*, the *Chaldeans*; from *Lud*, the *Lydians*; and from *Aram* the *Syrians*; all great *Monarchies*.

In this *Genealogy*, is plainly deduced the Descent of *Abram* (e), from whom the Stream of *Scripture Succession* runs on in an opener Channel, than it did before.

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(a) *Biblioth. Biblica*, where he quotes *Connect. Part 1. B. 2. p. 100. Edit. 1.* (b) *Gen. x. 21.* (c) *Civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 3. Col. 417.* (d) *Quæst. Hebr. Col. 517.* (e) *Gen. xi. 26.*



## 16 *The short HISTORY of*

before. And that he was unquestionably a *Monarch* by *Divine-Right* appears from his being expressly called, by *God* himself, to possess a *Kingdom* entailed upon him and his *Heirs* for ever (a).

To him succeeded *Isaac* his Son and *Heir* of all that he had (b).

To him his *Eldest* Son *Esau* was *Heir Apparent* (c): But, as he, by his own *Act*, and that too, that the *Purpose* of *God*, according to *Election* might stand, (d), did transfer his *Birthright* to his Younger Brother *Jacob*, there is no Reason to Question the Lawfulness of the *Alienation*. Yet we do not read, that ever *Esau* paid any Personal Service, or owned any Subjection to *Jacob*: But we see, That *Jacob*, meeting him, bowed himself to the Ground seven times, calling *Esau* his *Lord*, and himself his *Servant* (e), in token of a *Natural Allegiance* by *Birth*, even after the *Sale* of the *Birthright*. And so we read of *Eight Kings* of the Posterity of *Esau*, (f) who reigned in *Idumea*, till they were conquered by *David* (g) (of the House of *Judah*, as had been foretold by the *Lord*) (h): And those were so far from owning any Subjection to the Posterity of *Jacob*, that they denied them a Passage through their Dominions (i).

But, be that as it will, we may learn by this Case, that *Jacob* was not possessed of the *Prerogatives* of *Primogeniture* meerly by the *Providence* of *God* (as certain people affect to call it, meaning his *secret Will*, without or contrary to his *Revealed Will*) but by the *Express Revelation* of *God*, attended with his *Elder Brother's Grant*: And further, as this *Purpose* was manifestly prior to either of their Births, and consequently (as the *Apostle* argues

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(a) *Gen. xii. 1.* — *xiii. 15.* (b) *Gen. xv. 4.* (c) *xxv. 33.* — *xxv. 23.* (d) *Rom. ix. 11.* (e) *Gen. xxxiii.* (f) *Gen. xxxvi. 31.* (g) *1 Chron. i. 43.* (h) *Gen. xlviii. 8.* (i) *Numb. xx. 21.*

argues) before they had done any good or Evil, (a), it is plain, that God's Dealing in the Case, can't truly be said to have been preponderated by Personal Virtue, Goodness, and Desert, (b), unless we could suppose, that Jacob was personally virtuous, good, and deserving, before he was born, or that he was capable of procuring by his good Behaviour, or his Brother of forfeiting by his ill Conduct, before either of them had done any Good or Evil! Neither did it please God, that his Elder Brother (even Wicked Esau) should be actually disinherited, without his own Motion and Voluntary Act, which was truly and properly an Abjuration (there being no sufficient Force put upon him, to oblige him thereto,) concurrent with the Purpose of God; so much did he favour the Claim of Birthright as a Foundation for Civil Superiority and Dominion, contrary to that Author's Observation!

As the Birthright was thus vested in Jacob by the Lord, so was it afterwards translated by the same Authority, from Reuben, his Eldest Son, to Judah, the Fourth (c); though Judah himself was an Incestuous Person as well as Reuben; so that his Dominion was not founded in Grace! Neither can it be said with any Propriety, that Inward and Personal Vertues obtained for Judah, what his Elder Brother had forfeited for his Wickedness (d): unless Judah's defiling his Daughter in Law, were a Virtue and a Meritorious Act in him, by the same Law, as Ruben's defiling his Father's Concubine was an unpardonable Sin (e)! And besides, so far is this Case from being an Evidence to the Prejudice of the Primogeniture, (as our Popular Advocates

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would

(a) Rom. ix. 11. (b) Whist. Script. Polit. p. 12. 13. (c) Gen. xlix. 8. — xxxviii. 18. (d) Whist. Script. Polit. 14. 15. (e) Gen. xxxvii. 18. — xxxv. 22.

would fain perswade us,) that this very *Forfeiture* which they urge against it, plainly implies a *Natural Right* to the *Preheminence* inherent in the *Eldcst* by *Birth*, till such *Forfeiture*; For nothing can be *forfeited*, but by the *known Owner* and *Proprietor*. And so doubtless *Mr. Whiston* himself understood it, when he said, that *Joseph* "had a *Double Portion* allotted him by his Father, in the Division "of the Land of *Canaan*, —; which indeed should "have belonged to *Reuben* the *First Born* " (a). And accordingly we find, that *Reuben* is so far favoured on Account of, that his *Primogeniture*, that he as the *First-born*, is still honoured by their Father, as his *Might*, the *Beginning* of his *Strength*, the *Excellency* of *Dignity*, and the *Excellency* of *Power* (b); the two *Peculiar Characters* of *Sovereignty* (as the *Learned Arch-Bishop Usher* calls them (c); and, in regard thereof, he, and his *Sons* are usually first named in the *Genealogies* (d). Nor was the *Natural Hereditary Right*, by *Virtue* hereof, to become defeasible by the *People*: Since, though the *Birth-right* was indeed translated into another *Line*, yet the *Hereditary Descent* was still to be preserved; for the *Sceptre* was entailed upon *Judah*, till *Shiloh* came (e): Neither was this *Alienation* of the *Rights* of the *Nert Heir*, made by his *Brethren*, much less by his *Subjects* and *Servants*, but by his *Father* and *Sovereign*: and that too by the immediate *Inspiration* of *God Almighty*; so that it cannot be of any *Use* at all to the *Patrons* of a *Popular Scheme*!

Here comes in, another of *Mr. Whiston's* Arguments against the *Primogeniture*, though I shall but just

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(a) *Script. Pol.* p. 15. (b) *Gen. xlix.* 3. (c) *Power of the Prince* p. 14. (d) *Exod. vi.* 14. *Numb. i.* 5, 20. *1 Chron. v.* 1. (e) *Gen. xlix.* 10.



just touch upon it. He asserts, that "*Joseph* was preferred before the rest, on Account of his *Goodness*, and particularly his unspotted *Chastity*, by "*Divine Providence*" (a) &c. I grant, that his *Chastity* was very Eminent, and that he was highly favoured by *God Almighty*: But cannot say, that he was by *Divine Providence* preferred, on that particular Account, without, in some measure, *Impeaching the Divine Right of Solomon*, and many other *Princes*, in all Ages, less famous for that Excellent *Virtue*.

But, to proceed. When *Jacob* by *Divine Inspiration*, preferred the *Younger* of *Joseph's* Children, before the *Elder*, their *Father* was *displeased*. For he was sensible, the *Law and Order of Nature* could not be altered by any *Human Power*, and he did not then perceive, that what his *Father* did, proceeded from the *Lord*: And therefore he held up his *Father's Hand*, to remove it from *Ephraim's Head* to *Manasseh's Head*; and *Joseph* said unto his *Father* Not so my *Father*! For this is the *First-born*, put thy *Right Hand* upon his *Head* (b); which plainly shews us the great regard that was paid to the *Primogeniture* in those Days, and that the *Law of Nature* was the same after their *Delivery* out of *Egypt*, as it was before.

Now, this *Law of Nature* is indeed the *Eternal Law* of the *Creator*, infused into the *Heart* of the *Creature*, at the time of the *Creation*: By which *Law* Mankind were governed *Two Thousand Years*, before any *Laws* were written; whereof the *Apostle* says, the *Gentiles* which have not the *Law* do, by *Nature*, the things contained in the *Law*; these, having not the *Law*, are a *Law* unto themselves. (c)

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Thus

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(a) *Script. Polit. P. 15.* (b) *Gen. xlviii. 17.* (c) *Rom. ii. 14.*

Thus, in a Word, not only *Adam*, but all the succeeding *Patriarchs*, as well *before*, as *after* the Flood, had, by this *Law of Nature*, *Royal Authority* over their respective Children, and exercised *Kingly Power*, in full and ample manner. For so we find them *raising Armies*; making solemn *Treaties of Peace*; sending *Formal Embassies* on *Negotiations of Marriage*; adjudging *Offenders to Death*; and granting *Pardons* after such *Condemnation* (a). And, 'tis remarkable, that in *Abraham's Treaty*, with the Sons of *Heth*, for a *Burying-place* for *Sarah*, they stile him *A Mighty Prince* (b), as indeed he was.

What has been here said, was well summ'd up, by an *Author*, who had formerly been justly censured, for what he had written in favour of some pretended *Privileges of the People*, "The Original Law of Nature" (says he), as all *Politicians and Divines* assert, and the *Scripture* manifests, at first gave every *Father* a *Magistratical and Judicial Rule*, over his Children, Progeny, Family, and made him a *King, Prince, Lord* over them, without either their *Choice or Call*: The *Father*, and *First-born* of the Family, being both the *King, Prince, Lord* over it, and *Priest* to it, from the *Creation*, till the *Law* was given; as is generally acknowledged by all *Divines*; as *God himself* is *King* over all the *Earth, World*, as *Creator and Father* thereof" (c).

Since then 'tis so evident, that all the *Patriarchs* had this *Regal Power*, what hinders, but that they should be esteemed *Kings*, to all Intents and Purposes? Nay, and as *Absolute* too, as any that have been since?

If

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(a) *Gen.* xiv. — xxi. 31. — xxvi. 31. — xxv. 2. — xxviii. 24, 26. — (b) *Gen.* xxiii. 6. (c) *Pryn's Plea for the Lords*, p. 10.

If there yet remain any Doubt of it, let us hear the *Lord Chief Justice Coke* (that Great Oracle of the Law !) who assures us, from most Unexceptionable Authorities, " That Certain it is, that before *Judicial, or Municipal Laws* were made, *Kings* " did decide Causes according to *Natural Equity*, " and were not tied to any Rule or Formality of " Law, but did *Jura dare* (a) : That the Command- " ment *Honora Patrem*, doubtless doth extend it " self to him that is *Pater Patria* " (b) : That, to this *Pater Patria*, this *Sovereign Prince by Birth*, " a true and faithful Obedience of the Subject is " due, by the *Law of Nature* ; And an Incident in- " separable to every Subject ; for, as soon as he is " born he oweth, by *Birthright*, *Ligeance* and O- " bedience to his Sovereign " (c) : And that, such as (he says) is without Limitation, Condition, Bounds, or Reserve ; " *Ligeantia Naturalis nullis Clausuris coercetur, nullis Metis refranatur, nullis Finibus premitur* (d) : " That this Allegiance is due to the *Natural Per- son of the King* (e) (wheresoever he is, whether in or out of the Kingdom) : That this Law of " Nature is part of the Law of England (f) ; where the King holdeth the Kingdom, by *Birthright* " inherent, by Descent from the *Blood Royal*, " whereupon *Succession* doth attend : And there- fore, it is usually said, to the King, his Heirs, " and Successors ; Wherein Heirs is first named, and Successors is Attendant upon Heirs : And yet (he " proves that) in our ancient Books, *Succession* and Suc- cessor are taken for *Hereditance* and Heirs-- : But the Title is by Descent. (For Example) " By *Queen Elizabeth's* Death, the Crown and Kingdom of England Descended to

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(a) *Coke's Reports* B. 7. *Postnati. Calvin's Case*, 6. Jac. 1. Fol. 13. (b) *Ibid.* Fol. 12. (c) *Ibid.* Fol. 4. (d) *Ibid.* fol. 10. (e) *Ibid.* (f) *Ibid.* Fol. 12.



to his Majesty (King James, though then out of the Kingdom): "and he was fully and absolutely thereby King, without any Essential Ceremony, or Act, to be done *ex post facto*; and Coronation is but a Royal Ornament, and outward Solemnization of the Descent (a):" That such "Allegiance, by the Law of Nature, never was nor could be altered or changed; much less taken away" (b); nay that this Natural Allegiance of the Subject to his Sovereign, by Birth, "is inherent, and inseparable, and cannot be respited" (c).

This Quotation, from so great an *Affector of the Subjects Privileges* (and in a Case too, which, himself tells us, was "as elaborately, substantially, and judiciously argued, as ever was any" (d): and which has this peculiar to it, that "no one Opinion, in all our Books, is against this Judgment" (e), cannot need an Apology; since it has given us so clear a Light into the *Law of Nature* (by which Mankind were originally governed), in Relation to the *Paternal* and *Regal* Authority of the *Patriarchs*. Especially since certain *English Subjects* have the Assurance to affirm that "the free Choice, Consent, or Recognition of a Nation, is the proper Foundation of the Rights of Princes" (f), &c. and That "it appears in Scripture, that Nothing, in Ordinary Cases, but the free Choice, or Recognition of a People, gives a just Right to a Prince to govern them" (g); and many other such like *Unscriptural* and *Unlawful* Assertions, equally tending to possess the unwary Reader, with Notions utterly inconsistent with the Fundamental Laws of any *Hereditary Monarchy*, and to justify

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(a) *Ibid* Fol. 10 11. (b) *Ibid*. Fol. 13. (c) *Ibid*. Fol. 7. (d) *Ibid*. 3. Fol. (e) *Ibid*. Fol. 28. (f) *Whist*, Script. Polit. p. 8. (g) *Ibid*. Dedic. p. iii.

fy the worst Fact, that the worst of Subjects were ever guilty of. Whereas the *Clergy* of our National Church in *Convocation* assembled, have censured this as a *great Error*, (a): Nay and even the *People's* own Representatives in *Parliament*, will be found upon Examination to have all along declared expressly against such *Republican Doctrines*! Particularly, in one of our latest Instances, after an unnatural *Rebellion* and *Regicide*, and the subsequent *Exclusion* and *Abjuration* of the *Right Heir*, the *People* in *Convention* representatively assembled, confessed and acknowledged to the World, That "it can *no way be doubted*, but that *His Majesty's* "Right and Title to his Crowns and Kingdoms is, "and was, *every way compleated*, by the *Death* of his "most *Royal Father* *Without the Ceremony or Solemnity* "of a *Proclamation, &c.* And therefore, according to "their *Duty and Allegiance*, they unanimously declared and proclaimed, That immediately upon "the *Decease* of---*King Charles* (the First), the Imperial Crown, &c. did, by *Birthright and Lawful* "and *Undoubted Succession*, descend and come to "King *Charles the Second*, as being *lineally, justly and* "lawfully *Next Heir of the Blood Royal*, (c) &c."--- And all this too, after they had kept this *Next Heir* many Years in *Exile*! And our *Church* too, in the *Forms of Prayer* composed on those Occasions, (and which are also part of the *Law of the Land* even at this Day) does "acknowledge in the "Presence of *God* himself, That the *King* was *Innocent*, and a *Blessed Martyr, &c.* (notwithstanding "all the *Popery* and *Tyranny* and *Arbitrary Power* the "Rebels charged him with!) That *his Son* was his "Undoubted *Heir*, and our then most *Gracious Sovereign*,  
and

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(a) *Overal's Convoc. Lib. 1. Can. 2.* (b) *Proclam. 8. May.*  
1660.

“ and that the Throne was his Right, even during  
 “ his Exile and pretended Attainder: That he was  
 “ not Chosen, but Restored to his own just and undoubted  
 “ ed Rights; and as such promisseth all Loyal and Du-  
 “ tiful Allegiance to the present King, and to his  
 “ Heirs after him (a)”: Nay, and is it not mani-  
 fest, that every one, who has obtained the Possession of this Crown (whether by Right, as King Edward the Fourth, or by Usurpation, as Henry the Fourth, and others) has always made his Pretension to it, as the Next Lawful Heir, and as such pretended to ascend the Throne of his Ancestors? How then is all this Hypocrisy before God, and Prevarication with Men, to be accounted for, if after all this Solemnity, the Throne be denied to be Hereditary? And what Colour is there for any one to say, that the Right of Princes, depends upon the Choice, Consent, or Recognition of the People? So directly contrary to all the Authorities of Scripture History, Law, and right Reason! — But, to proceed.

During the Egyptian Bondage, Moses was raised up by the Lord (b), to be a Prince and Deliverer to the Israelites; whose Government was originally Monarchical, from the time that they first became a Nation: For Moses was King in Jesurun, even when the Heads of the People, and the Tribes of Israel were gathered together: And that he was Absolute, and accountable to none for his Administration, but to God only, the sacred Records in many Instances do plainly prove. For his Divine Right, and Absolute Authority, were remarkably, asserted by God himself, even against his own Brethren and Sister, for but Murmuring against him; Wherefore were ye not

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(a) See the Forms for 30 January, and 29 May. (b) Exod. iii. 10. (c) Deuter. xxxiii. 5. (d) Numb. xii. 8.



not afraid (said the Lord to Aaron and Miriam) to speak against my Servant Moses? And the anger of the Lord was kindled against them (a).

But most exemplary was the Punishment of of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and their Adherents, for seditiously Resisting, and Rebelling against the same Authority: And that too (as a late Learned Divine observed) "upon the Common Grounds of such things, viz. Usurpation upon the People's Rights, Arbitrary Government, and ill Management of Affairs" (b). Neither were these Patriots or Assertors of the (Good Old) Cause of Liberty content with Rebellion against Moses, their Lawful Prince, but they also presumed to Invade, Usurp, and Intrude upon the Sacred Office of Aaron the High-Priest; though 'tis certain, that "whoever set up for being Patrons of Liberty should, at the same time, set up for Patrons of Religion; for otherwise the more Liberty we have, the more Danger we shall be in of being undone" (c). Upon which, Moses, as he was Commanded, by the Lord, spake unto all the Congregation of the People, saying, Depart, I pray you, from the Tents of these Wicked Men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their Sins (d)! For such is the heinous Nature, and Contagion, of those Sins of Rebellion and Schism, that the Destruction of the Actors alone was not a sufficient Attonement for it: But, as every one of their Adherents was, in respect of Moses, a Rebel, and in respect of Aaron, a Schismatick, whoever joined with, or any way assisted, or countenanced them in their Sins, was thereby liable to share the Punishment; and the more effectually to deter us from the like Guilt, we find,

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that

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(a) Numb. xii. 8, 9. (b) Stillingsf. Sermon. 30. January 1668. p. 11. (c) Willis, 5. Nov. 1705 p. 15. (d) Numb. xvi. 26.

that God Almighty wrought a *Miracle* to destroy them. For the Ground clave asunder, that was under them, and the Earth opened her Mouth, and swallowed them up, and their Houses, and all the Men that appertained unto Corah, and all their Goods : They and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the Pit, and the Earth closed upon them ; and they perished from amongst the Congregation —. And there came out a Fire from the Lord, and consumed the 250 Men, that offered Incense (a). And for the better Remembrance thereof, their Censers were preserved, to be a Memorial, that no Stranger, which is not of the Seed of Aaron, come near to offer Incense before the Lord, That he be not as Corah and as his Company — ; when they strove against the Lord. (b). For so they may justly be said to do, who throw off those Obligations of Allegiance which God and Nature have bound them in, and bind themselves in others of their own Inventing. Nay, when others of the People presumed, the next Day, but to Murmur against Moses and Aaron, for the Loss of their Brethren, 14700 more of them were destroyed by a Plague (c). So that “ let the Pretences be never so popular, the Persons “ never so great and famous ; nay, though they “ were of the great Council of the Nation, yet we “ see God doth not abate of his Severity upon any “ of these Considerations ” (d).

Thus was the Divine Authority and Absolute Irresistible Power of Moses (not to say any more of Aaron) unquestionably proved : “ And, lest this should “ be thought an Extraordinary Case, Moses and “ Aaron being Extraordinary Persons, immediately “ appointed by God, and governed by his immediate Direction, the Apostle St. Jude alledges this

(a) Numb. xvi. 30, &c. (b) ——— xxvi. 9. ——— xvi. 40.  
 (c) ——— xvi. 49. (d) Stillingsfleet ubi Supr. p. 34.

“ this Example against those in his Days, who  
 “ were turbulent (and factious, who despised Domi-  
 “ nions, and spake evil of Dignities, that they  
 “ should perish in the gainsaying of Corah, (a) which he  
 “ could not have done, had not this Example (as  
 “ the late Dr. Sherlock once well observed) exten-  
 “ ded to all Ordinary, as well as Extraordinary  
 “ Cases; had it not been a lasting Testimony of  
 “ God’s Displeasure, against all those, who op-  
 “ pose themselves against the Sovereign Powers” (b).

And as Moses was the first Lawgiver or Wri-  
 ter of Laws, in the World, let us see how his Laws,  
 (or rather those of God pronounced by him) agreed  
 with the Law of Nature, upon this Subject.

It happened that Zelophehad (one of the Princes  
 of the Half Tribe of Manasseh) had no Sons, but  
 Daughters: And these (grounding their Plea upon  
 the Law of Nature) sued unto Moses for their Fa-  
 ther’s Inheritance (for the Land was divided by Inhe-  
 ritance); Our Father (said they) died in the Wilderness,  
 and he was not in the Company of them, that gathered  
 themselves together against the Lord, in the Company  
 of Corah, but died in his own Sin, and had no Sons;  
 why should the Name of our Father be done away (c)? &c.  
 Where, by the way, we may observe, that the whole  
 People were made sensible, by the Dreadful Judg-  
 ment of God upon Rebels, that Resisting Moses  
 and Aaron, was a Rebellion against God himself,  
 from whom they received their Authority; and  
 that they, and every one that was in their Company,  
 had thereby forfeited God’s Favour, as well as the  
 Right to their Inheritance. Therefore they plead,  
 that their Father was not in the Company of Corah;  
 and thereupon, Moses brought their Cause before the  
 Lord (a).

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Upon

(a) Jude 11. (b) Case of Resist. p. 7. (c) Numb. xxvi. 33.---  
 33. ---xxiv. 18. Numb. xxvii. 3. (a) Numb. xxvii. 5.



## 28 The short HISTORY of

Upon this Occasion therefore (as a Celebrated Modern argues in another Case) (a) " we have " the justest Reason to expect to know the Thoughts " of Almighty God concerning " Hereditary Right. And what were they? Why, the Lord did not only adjudge that Cause in favour of these Daughters (which might upon Occasion be a strong and incontestable Authority against the Salique Law in France) but made it a Statute of Judgment (or Perpetual Law) saying, If a Man die, and have no Son (which, by the way, is an Admission that the Son had a Natural Right to his Father's Inheritance) then ye shall cause his Inheritance to pass unto his Daughter; and if he have no Daughter, then — unto his Brethren; and if he have no Brethren, then — unto his Father's Brethren; and if his Father have no Brethren, then — unto his Kinsman that is next to him of his Family, and he shall possess it (b).

Here we see Almighty God taking Occasion (as the last quoted Author expresses it) to confirm the Law of Nature, in respect of Inheritances. And to shew us, that it is not in our Power, to invert the Order of Nature, or (as it is in the Title of the Chapter) that the First-born is not to be disinherited upon private Affection, this other Law was added by the Lord, If a Man have two Wives, one Beloved and another Hated, and they have born him Children — And if the First-born Son be hers that was Hated, then it shall be, when he makerh his Sons to Inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the Son of the Beloved First-born, before the Son of the Hated, which is indeed the First-born, (or, as it is in the old Margin, while the Son of the Hated liveth): But he shall acknowledge the Son of the Hated for the First-born, by giving him a Double Portion of all the

(a) Mr. Ben. Hoadley's Sermon at Hertf. Mar. 22. 1707. (b) Numb. xxvii. 8.

that he hath; For (this Reason, that) he is the Beginning of his Strength; the Right of the First-born is his (a).

Now this Law (says a Learned Author) "was, and still is, grounded, 1. On God's express Command, and so it is a Judicial Law of God: 2. On Natural Reason, and so it becomes a Positive Law of Nature, obliging all Nations, at all Times, to the Observation of it. — By this Law, (as my Author proceeds) "it is undeniably evident, that the First-born should ever be the Heir of his Father, whether the said First-born were Good or Bad, beloved or Hated: And the Reason, which God gives for that Law is this, Scilicet, because the First-born is the Beginning of his Father's Strength; and therefore, the Right of his First-born is his; that is to say, the Right of Inheritance is his. So that this Law of Inheritance by Primogeniture is not only a Positive and Judicial Law, made by God binding the People of the Jews: But it is also a Moral Law founded on Natural Reason; and therefore is for ever obligatory, and at all times binds all Nations to observe and keep it. For, if, among the Jews, the First-born was therefore to Inherit, because he was the Beginning of his Father's Strength: Then by the same Force of Reason, ought all First-born Sons, of all Men whatsoever, to inherit their Father's Substance, because they all are the Beginning of their Father's Strength; And therefore the Right of Inheritance is theirs" (c).

Agreeably to which, that Eminent Lawyer above quoted, applies all to the Kingdom of England, arguing from Aristotle, That "whatever is founded upon

(a) Deut. xxi. 15. &c. (b) Deut. xxi. 17. (c) Jenner's Pre-rog. of Primog. p. 27.

# 30 The short HISTORY of

“ upon the *Law of Nature*, hath the same Authority amongst all *Men* ”; wherewith (he observes) our *Lawyers* agree, for this Reason, “ for that *God* and *Nature* is one to all, and therefore the *Law of God and Nature* is one to all ” (a).

This *Law of Indefeasible Hereditary Right*, or *Law of Inheritance* (as he calls it) *Mr. Whiston* owns to be “ certainly a plain and clear *Law*, relating to the Affairs of *Private Families* among the *Jews*.” But how this belongs to the Affairs of *Publick Government*, or *Succession of Kings*, or *Princes*, he “ does not see ” (b). But if he pleases to open his Eyes and observe, that this *Law* is given in *General Terms*, and compare it with the Judgment pronounced in the Case of the *Daughters of Zelophebad* (last mentioned) who was a *Publick Person*, he will find no just Ground, to distinguish in this Case, between *Publick* and *Private Inheritances*; always remembering this *Maxim*, that, *where the Law it self does not distinguish, we have no Authority to make a Distinction*. But in answer to this Objection, and to put it out of all Question, the *Divine* newly quoted; argues thus. “ If *Succession* and *Inheritance* be established upon the *First-born* in *Private Families*, because of his *Primogeniture*: Then, by the same *Law*, the *Right of Inheritance* and of *Succession* unto the *Crown* is for ever settled upon the *First-born* of *Kings*. For, the *First-born* of *Kings* are the *Beginning of their Royal Father's Strength*: And therefore, the *Right of the First-born*, that is to say, the *Right of Inheritance* and of *Succession* to their *Father's Throne*, is theirs ” (c). And a much greater than he, even our *Blessed Saviour* himself, in answer to *Pilate's* Question, *Art thou a King*? Answered, *Thou sayest that I am a King*: To this

(a) Coke. Calvin's Case Fol. 12. (b) Script. Polit. p. 12, 20. (c) Jenn. Pærog. of Primog. p. 28.



this End was I born (a), &c. thereby intimating, that his Right to his Father's Kingdom was by Birth and Primogeniture. But after this I must own my self to be perfectly at a Loss, to understand, what our Scripture Politician means by saying, that this Law of Inheritance never "appears to have been ordained by God, nor approved by him, but the contrary: And that we find no such Law of Hereditary Succession, about the State of the Civil Power, among the Jews, but many which make greatly against it" (b)!

Now, the Double Portion was not the only Right of the First-born; for, we find, as Bishop Babington has justly observed, "That the Preheminence of the Birthright was this, *Habebant Jus Sacerdotii & Regni in Familia*, &c. they were Priests and Kings in the Family after the Father's Death: They had a Preheminence above the rest in the Division of the Father's Inheritance: They succeeded the Father in all Dignity, Principality, and Honour: They had Authority over their younger Brethren, so that they rose up at their Presence, and ministered to them" (c) &c. And all this agreeable to the Expression of the inspired Patriarch Isaac, where, speaking as to the First-born, he says, *Be Lord over thy Brethren, and let thy Mother's Sons bow down to thee* (d); which a Learned Modern calls "strictly and directly the *Jus Primogeniti*, the Right of the First-born" (e). And so likewise, when the same Patriarch confirmed that Alienation of the Birthright to Jacob, he says to Esau, then in the Person of the Younger, *I have made him thy Lord, and all his Brethren have I given to him for Servants* (f); which sufficiently manifests the Prerogative of Primogeniture.

In

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(a) St. Joh. xviii. 37. (b) Script. Polit. p. 8, 16. (c) Babington's Works, fol. 109. (d) Gen. xxvii. 29. (e) Bibl. Bib. p. 584. (f) Gen. xxvii. 37.

## 32 *The short HISTORY of*

In the Case of the *Stubborn and Rebellious Son*, tho', upon the Complaint of his Parents to the *Magistrates*, he was to be stoned to Death by the People (a): Yet we do not find, that any of them could Exclude or Deprive him of his Birthright, or the Preheminence thereof; no, not even tho' he had been an *Hater of Right and Righteousness*; as we shall see more at large by and by.

After these, we find another Law made, for the better Preservation of *Inheritances*, in the Family and Name of the *First-born*, That if Brethren live together, and if one of them die and have no Child, the Wife of the Dead shall not marry without unto a Stranger: Her Husband's Brother (or, as it is in the Margin, his Next Kinsman) shall go in unto her, and take her to him to Wife; — And it shall be, that the First-born, which she beareth, shall succeed, in the Name of his Brother which is dead, that his Name be not put out of *Israel* (b) --- Which Law is also explained by that Question of the *Sadducees* to our Saviour, in the Gospel (c); so that, it is plain, the first, second, third, and other Brothers married the Widow successively, one after another, according to their Priority of Birth, to keep up the Name and Honour of the First-born. Nay, and our Saviour himself has affirmed the Natural Right of *Primogeniture*, in his Parable of the *Prodigal Son*: Where, in the first Place, he speaks generally of a certain Man (to shew that it was not peculiar to the Jews, but the Common Case of all Men), and then says in the Person of the Father to the Eldest Son, — Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is Thine (d); that is, by Right of Birth, as my Eldest Son.

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(a) Deut. xxi. 18. (b) Deut. xxv. 5. (c) St. Matt. xxii. 14  
St. Mark xii. 19. St. Luke xx. 28. (d) St. Luke xv. 11, 31.

As to Kings, more particularly, the Lord fore-  
 " seeing, that the Jews would in time, grow weary  
 " of his Government, makes Provision in their  
 " Law for setting up a King" (a): Where we may  
 note, that he prefers Kingly Government before any  
 other; because he did not make Provision for Aristoc-  
 racy, or Democracy, or any other Form (which their  
 Law makes no Allowance for), but Monarchy only. Nor  
 did he suffer the People to meddle, or concern them-  
 selves at all in the Election; but reserved the  
 Choice thereof wholly to himself, as his own Prerog-  
 ative, and commanded them to submit themselves  
 therein only to his Divine Appointment; saying,  
 When thou art come unto the Land which the Lord thy  
 God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell there-  
 in, and shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as all the  
 Nations that are about me: Thou shalt in any wise set  
 him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall  
 choose; one from among thy Brethren shalt thou set King  
 over thee; thou mayst not set a Stranger over thee, which  
 is not thy Brother (b).

And, here we may perceive an evident Distin-  
 ction made between Choosing a King, which God  
 reserves to himself, and setting up a King over  
 the People when so Chosen, which latter Power the  
 Children of Israel had indeed, but not the for-  
 mer; it being God's Sole Prerogative Eligit, the  
 People's Duty Recognoscere. And this Distinction is  
 clearly expounded by the Judicious Hooker; some  
 of whose Words may not be improper to be here  
 inserted. "Heaps of Scripture (saith he) are select-  
 " ed concerning the Solemn Coronation or Inau-  
 " guration of Saul, David, Solomon and others,  
 " by Nobles, Ancients, and the People of the  
 " Common Wealth of Israel; As if these Solem-  
 F nities

(a) Sherl. Case of Resist. p. 21.

(b) Deut. xvii. 14.



"nities were a kind of Deed, whereby the Right  
 "of *Dominion* is given. Which *strange, untrue, and*  
 "unnatural Conceits are set abroad by *Seed-Men of*  
 "Rebellion only to animate Unquiet Spirits, and  
 "to feed them with Possibilities of aspiring unto  
 "the Thrones, if they can win the Hearts of  
 "the People, whatsoever *Hereditary Title* any other  
 "before them may have. I say, these *Unjust and*  
 "Insolent Positions I would not mention, were it  
 "not thereby to make the Countenance of Truth  
 "more Orient. For unless we will openly pro-  
 "claim Defiance unto all *Law, Equity, and Reason,*  
 "we must (for there is no other Remedy) ac-  
 "knowledge, that in *Kingdoms Hereditary, Birth*  
 "giveth Right unto *Sovereign Dominion,* and the  
 "Death of the Predecessor putteth the Successor  
 "by Blood in Seisin: Those publick Solemnities  
 "before mentioned, do either serve for an open  
 "Testification of the *Inheritor's Right,* or belong  
 "to the Form of inducing of him into *Possession*  
 "of that thing he hath *Right* unto. Therefore, in  
 "case it does happen, that, without *Right of Blood,*  
 "a Man, in such wise be possessed, all these new  
 "Elections, and Investings are utterly void; they  
 "make him no *Indefeasible Estate,* the *Inheritor by*  
 "Blood may dispossess him as an *Usurper*" (a).

This Distinction being well observed, will help  
 us the better to understand the Scripture Phrase  
 concerning the Institution of *Kings.* For, though we  
 do sometimes read, that the *People made* such an  
 one *King,* we must not apprehend, that they were  
 the *Original of Regal Power,* or that the *Kingdom was*  
*Elective:* But only that they owned or recognized  
 him as a *King of God's making;* for so were the three  
 first of their *Kings* expressly set over them. But  
 when

(a) *Eccles. Polity. B. viii.*

when that immediate Designation of their Kings from God himself was to cease, and the Kingly Government settled in the House of Judah, according to Jacob's Prophecy (a) then was the Kingdom to become Hereditary; As appears from the Conclusion of those Provisional Precepts for the King that should be set over them, viz. — That he may prolong his Days in his Kingdom, he and his Children, in the midst of Israel (b). Agreeable to which is that Observation of the Jews, that “ it was necessary to Anoint the first of a Family that was advanced to a Kingdom; but it was not necessary to Anoint his Children that succeeded him ” (c).

Thus much of the Laws of God, pronounced, and recorded by Moses. And we do accordingly find, that in all the Regular Successions, as well among God's People, as among the Nations, the Royal Dignity descended by Priority of Birth and Proximity of Blood, according to the Law of Nature: Except only in Cases, where the Lineal Succession was interrupted by the express Appointment and Revelation of God himself; for otherwise it was disowned by God as a Violation of his Laws, and no other than a meer Usurpation; as will be seen in the proper Places.

As to what Mr. Whiston affirms of the Appointment of the seventy Elders or Magistrates, that “ it was done by the free Choice of the People, &c. ” (d), his own Book may confute him; where he acknowledges, That it was neither done by the Authority of the People, nor of Jethro, nor of Moses: But “ when Jethro advised Moses, to make Judges, it was only on Supposition, that God should command him accordingly ” (e). Nay, and the very Texts

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too

(a) Gen. xlix. 10. (b) Deut. xvii. 20. (c) Patrick on 1 Sam. xvi. 12. (d) Script. Polit. p. 16, 17. (e) Ibid. p. 2.

too, which himself has quoted in the Margin, to make good his Assertion, do, indeed, prove the quite contrary. For, as it was *Jethro's* Advice to *Moses*, *Thou shalt provide out of all the People able Men, &c.* and place such over them (a), &c. So we read, that it was not the People, but *Moses* chose--- and made them Heads, &c. That the Lord commanded him to make the Election, and he made it accordingly; And all that the People did, or were required to do, was to sanctify themselves against the Day that was appointed, for *Moses* to make the Election, as the Lord had commanded him (b). And what if "here no Right of Families, or of Primogeniture can be at all pretended" (c)? was the Hereditary Succession of Inferiour Magistrates ever contended for? And these 'tis plain were no other; for the Supreme Power remained still in *Moses*, to whom the Final Appeal lay in all great Matters (d). But *Moses* being forewarned of his Death, and in his Wisdom foreseeing, that these Elders or Magistrates, though there were Seventy of them, could not be able to go thorow with the great Work, nor retain the People in due Obedience, without the support of a Supreme Governour, presented this Petition to the Lord, to set A Man over the Congregation, which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, which may lead them out, and which may bring them in, that the Congregation of the Lord, be not as Sheep which have no Shepherd (e). And thereupon the Lord appointed *Joshua* to succeed him: Not by any Choice or Nomination of the People, but upon the immediate Designation of the Lord himself, and by the mediate Authority of *Moses*; whom

(a) *Exod. xviii. 21.* (b) — *vers. 25. Numb. xi. 16. Deuter. i. 13, 15. — xvi. 18. Numb. xi. 18.* (c) *Whist. Script. Polit. p. 17.* (d) *Exod. xviii. 22.* (e) *Numb. xxviii. 16.*



whom the Lord commanded, to lay his Hand upon him, and to give him a Charge; and to put some of his Honour upon him, that all the Congregation of the Children of Israel might be Obedient (a). And so far were the People then, from claiming it as their Right, by any Pretence of an Original Contract, to chuse their own Rulers, or to cramp their Authority with Limitations, that we find them ready to hearken unto him, and to do as the Lord commanded Moses (d). Nor did they content themselves, with promising an Absolute and Unconditional Obedience to his Commands in all things, but further declared, that they would put to Death every one that should Rebel against his Commandment, and would not hearken unto his Words, in all that he Commanded (c); and all this was soon after ratified by the Lord himself, when he magnified Joshua in the Sight of all Israel, and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the Days of his Life (d).

Neither did they presume to set up a Successor to Joshua, after his Death, though at that very time (as certain Zealous Advocates for Parliamentary Power do contend) they had their Sanhedrim (or Parliament Sitting: But finding that it did not belong to their Province to make to themselves a King, or Supreme Governour, they asked the Lord, Who should go up to Fight for them (e)? And the Lord appointed the Tribe of Judah (in which the Kingdom was to be established) to go up first against the Canaanites. But, as it does not appear, for some time, that they had any One Chief or Ruler to lead them, we may conclude, That the Lord gave his People this Taste of the Miseries naturally attending a Popular State, or Common Wealth, that they might be the sooner brought to desire, and the more able to understand their

Happi-

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(a) — Vers. 18.      (b) Deut. xxxiv. 9.      (c) Josh. i. 16.  
 (d) —. iv. 14.      (e) Judg. i. 1.

*Happiness*, under *Monarchical Government*, which he had, from the Beginning resolved to *bleſs* them with. Thus, whereas, afterwards, under their *Lawful Monarchs*, they were always superiour to their Enemies, till ſuch time, as, by their repeated Sins, they had provoked *God* to caſt them off: Here we ſee the ſeveral *Tribes* fighting with different Fortune, ſome *Conquering* and others *Conquered*. For, after that the Lord had given reſt unto *Israel* from all their Enemies (a), &c. They (through a Fatal *Oblivion*!) ſuffering themſelves to be drawn in, firſt to *Tolerate*, and then to *Unite* and *Incorporate* themſelves with the People of the Nations, the Lord left thoſe that remained to be *Snares and Traps* unto them, and *Scourges* in their Sides, and *Thorns* in their Eyes, until they perished from off the Land (b) &c. That through them he might prove *Israel*, whether they would keep the way of the Lord, to walk therein (c), &c.

Thus we read, That no ſooner were *Joſhua* and the *Elders* Dead, who had ſeen all the great Works of the Lord in former Days, but the next Generation forſook the Lord God of their Fathers, and joined themſelves to the *Heathens* and their *Idols* (d): Whereby having, as it were, put themſelves out of the Lord's Protection, he delivered them into the Hands of *Spoilers*, that ſpoiled them, and expoſed them to the Mercy of *Foreign Tyrants*! *Civil Wars*! and all the other *Miſchiefs* and *Diſorders* conſequent upon *Irreligion* and *Anarchy* (e)! And yet they were not quite deſtitute of Government (as before is obſerved): For Zealous *Phinehas* ſtood before the *Ark*, as High-Prieſt, in thoſe Days; and there were the *Elders* of the Congregation, to govern them

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(a) *Joſh. xxii. 1.* (b) — *verſ. 13.* (c) *Judg. ii. 12.* (d) — *ii. 12.* (e) — *ii. 14.* — *iii. — — —*

them in the *Common Wealth* (a). Notwithstanding which, they are said, to have “ found themselves “ in a *State of Nature* (or *Confusion*) where Will and “ Power are the only Measure of their Actions: “ (and all this) because they had no King, no Supreme Magistrate in Israel ” (b);— they wanted a Monarch still, (the *Breath of their Nostrils* (c) “ —cujus Nutu, quasi anima & mente regerentur ”; (d) by whose Nod or Beck, as by a kind of Soul and Mind, they might be governed. For, so it is, that, after the Repetition of their Sins and Sufferings, we are usually told (as a Reason thereof) that, in those Days there was no King in Israel, but every Man did that which was Right in his own Eyes (e)! And yet even this State of Anarchy, there is a Person, of Assurance enough, to call “ — the Felicity of “ those Times (f) ” — : though an inspired Prophet of the Lord, speaks of it as an heavy Judgment; saying, in the Person of the Israelites, — We have no King because we feared not the Lord (g).

Nevertheless, amidst all their Oppressions, no sooner did they become sensible of their Apostacy, and turn unto the Lord, but he raised up Judges, which delivered them out of the Hand of those that spoiled them (h).

Thus Othniel was raised up, by the Lord, to deliver them, out of the Hand of a Foreign Tyrant (i), who had been permitted to enslave them eight Years.

After his Death, being again without a Governor, their Relapse into Sin, provoked the Lord, to suffer another Foreign Tyrant, to enslave them eighteen

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(a) Judg. xx. 28 — xxi. 16. (b) B. Lichf. Serm. 30. 1717 p. 7. (c) Lament. iv. 20. (d) Luc. Flor. Lib. 4. cap. 3. (e) Judg. xvii. 6. — xviii. 1. — xix. 1. — xxi. 25. (f) Bradd. Serm. Nov. 5. 1711. p. 30. (g) Hos. x. 3. (h) Judg. ii. 16. (i) — iii. 8.



eighteen Years: But, upon their Repentance, the Lord raised up Ehud, who kill'd the Tyrant in cold Blood (a). Which Act (however Extraordinary it may seem) is justified by all Writers: Not only, because Ehud had that Express Appointment and Commission from the Lord, to deliver his People, but because Eglon was a Foreigner and Alien, and had no Right to the Dominion over them, except (what is often misinterpreted or mistaken for Providence) the bare Permission of God; such as even the Devil himself has often had! For the Devil had full as good a Commission for his Power over Holy Job, and others (b)! — And “this is certain, that the  
 “Higher Powers which are ordained of God and  
 “as such to be obeyed, are only the Lawful Powers,  
 “not to be applied to Usurpers.” (c).

When Ehud died, the People by fresh Sins, provoked the Lord to leave them under the Tyranny of another Foreigner Twenty Years: till, upon their Repentance, he was pleased to deliver the Oppresser into the Hand of a Woman, who smote him to Death (d), where he thought to have slept in Security. And for this Act she is pronounced Blessed above Women (e), tho' 'tis plain, she had no Express Commission for it, nor any Quarrel against him, o' his Master Jabin, but that of his being a Tyrant without Title; for there was Peace between him, and the House of her Husband (f).

Then Israel returned to their Sins, and were therefore given up to other Foreigners, who Tyranniz'd over them seven Years: Till Gideon was raised up by the Lord, to deliver them, upon their Repentance. And yet, tho' they cried unto the Lord, against their

(a) Judg. iii. 12. (b) Job. i. 12. — ii. 6. (c) Burn. Sermon. Nov. 1715. p. 10. (d) Judg. iv. 21. (e) — v. 24. (f) — iv. 17.

their Oppressors, they were so far from being ready (as they ought) to assist towards their own Deliverance, that they would have put Gideon to Death, because he had cast down the Altar of Baal, and cut down the Grove that was by it (a); and so stupid they were also afterwards in the Case of Sampson; as shall be shewn in its proper Place. However, after Gideon had delivered them from their Enemies, and put several of those Foreign Tyrants to Death, the Israelites offered to him and his Heirs the Sovereignty over them; saying, Rule thou over us, both Thou, and thy Son, and thy Son's Son also: (b) But he utterly refused to accept thereof: Not (as Mr. Whiston supposes) "as being inconsistent with the present Theocracy" (c); for he was sensible, that Kingly Government had been promised the Israelites, as one of their greatest Blessings, (d) and provided for them by God himself, against such time as they should be settled in the Promised Land (e); but because he had no Warrant for it in the Law; nor any particular Revelation from the Lord; without one of which he knew, the People's Election or Consent could give him no Right or Title. He might, 'tis true, have pleaded Providence, and the People's Submission, (as others have done since): But he was too good a Man, so to belie God's Providence; being sensible, that such Foundations alone, are too Sandy to build a Lawful Government upon, without either a Legal Title, or else an Express and Notorious Revelation from Heaven in his favour; according to Mr. Whiston's own Confession above taken Notice of (f).

Nevertheless, after his Death, Abimelech (his Bastard Son) taking Occasion, from that Offer of

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(a) Judg. vi. 30. (b) Judg. viii. 22. (c) Script. Polit. p. 23.  
(d) Gen. xvii. 6, 16. — xlix. 10. (e) Deut. xvii. 14.  
(f) Page 2.

the People to his Father, by means of diverse popular Arguments drawn from that State Pretence of the Publick Good, Usurped the Government as King (a): And having got the Publick Money, he therewith hired vain and light Persons (or as they are called in the Margin of the Old Translation, Idle Fellows and Vagabonds) which followed him (b); by the help of which Mercenary Wretches, (the most proper Subjects indeed for such a Mock-Prince!) he strengthened himself, so as to be able to suppress an Insurrection made against him (c). And having put to Death all the other Pretenders (whose prior Rights, by Birth, he was jealous of) except one who had happily escaped (d) the Usurper vainly fancied himself to be Thoroughly settled, and thereby to have acquired a Right to the Crown, "ruling all things according to his Lust, and (as is usual with such as come unjustly by the Power) neglecting the Ordinances and Prescript of the Law, and hating all those that in any sort were Maintainers of Equity" (e). But when all Human Means seemed to fail, the Lord had Instruments, unthought of, to execute his Divine Vengeance against him, and his Followers; sending an Evil Spirit (f) (that is, the Spirit of Discord) between him, and those who had assisted him in his Usurpation, and, at last, beating out his Brains, by the Hands of a weak Woman, after he had acted the King three Years (g). "Thus (as one of our Commentators observes) we see, that the Union among Wicked Men, founded in Sin, continueth not, but soon breaketh out, through God's just Judgment, into most deadly Enmity; and again, that the most wicked may prevail"

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(a) Judg. ix. 2. (b) — vers. 4. (c) — vers. 34. (d) — vers. 5. &c. (e) — Joseph. Lib. v. Ca. 9. (f) — verse. 22. (g) Judg. ix. 53.



“ prevail in their Wars for a time, as did *Abimelech*, for the Punishment of other Wicked; themselves receiving their just Reward e’er long, as he also did ” (a)——.

But *Mr. Whiston*, after his Manner, would insinuate, from *Abimelech*’s courting the People to Elect him, that “ that Method of Free Election, was the then Solemn known way of obtaining *Secular Dominion* in the World ” (b) : But he does not observe, that, in the very Offer, which the same People had newly before made to *Gideon*, they expressly acknowledge the *Natural Right* of *Hereditary Succession*, saying, *Rule thou over us, both thou, and thy Son, and thy Son’s Son*; where they plainly intimate, that if the Father were once their King, the Sons, and other Descendants, would expect to succeed of Course, without any other Title, than that of their Birth. For it was the Father only, to whom they were personally obliged, for their *Deliverance from the Hand of Midian*. Neither is it strange, that he, who had no other Means of gratifying his unjust Ambition, than by cajoling the mutinous Populace, should encourage them to believe and assert more Power than they truly had, when he knew, that whatever extraordinary Use they should make thereof, it would the better answer his own End; as if he had said to them, *I, and my Followers will invest you, in your Sanhedrim, with the (pretended) Power to make a King, that I myself may be the Man!* However, were it as he supposes, I wonder what Use our Author could make of it, or how he can be consistent with himself, when, at the same time, he tells us, “ that yet, the Exercise of this Power by the People, when done upon Foolish Motives, contrary to other Obligations, and accompanied with Blood and Violence,

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(a) Dr. Mayer. (b) Script. Polit. p. 32.

# 44 The short HISTORY of

“ lence, may be highly *Criminal* before *God*, and  
 “ bring down severe *Judgments* from him ” (a) !  
 But I shall not insist upon his Inconsistencies ; ’tis  
 enough for me that our *Popular Advocates* can have  
 little Reason to Triumph in this Case : Since,  
 whatever Power the People presumed to take to  
 themselves, in order to the setting up of *Abime-  
 lech*, ’tis plain, it “ turned both to his Ruin and  
 “ their Destruction ” ; and (I have the Authority  
 of a *Convocation* to say) that “ if any Man shall  
 “ affirm — that the Fact of the *Sichemites* may  
 “ lawfully be imitated by any *Christian People*, &c.  
 “ he doth greatly Err ” (b).

Here I cannot omit the Parable of *Jotham*, whereby  
 he endeavoured to open the Eyes of the Deluded  
 People, and to alienate their Affections from the  
 Usurper ; letting them know, “ That those who  
 “ were Virtuous, and whom Reason and Religion  
 “ had taught the safe and happy Estate of Mo-  
 “ derate *Subjection*, had refused to receive as Unlaw-  
 “ ful, what others had no Power to give, without  
 “ Direction from the *King of Kings* ; who from the  
 “ Beginning (as to his own Peculiar People) had ap-  
 “ pointed them, by whom and how to be governed.  
 “ This he taught them by the *Olive*, which con-  
 “ tented it self with its Fatness, the *Fig-Tree*  
 “ with its Sweetness, and the *Vine* with the  
 “ good Juice it had : The *Bramble*, only who was  
 “ most base, cut down all the rest, and accepted  
 “ the *Sovereignty*. He also foretold them, by a  
 “ *Prophetick Spirit*, what should befall them in the  
 “ End, and how a Fire should come out of the  
 “ *Bramble*, and consume the *Cedars of Lebanon* ” (c).  
 But these being Truths too plain to be told in

such

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(a) *Whist. Ibid.* (b) *Overal's Convoc. Book. Lib. i. Ca. 13.*  
 (c) *Judg. 7. &c. Sir. Wa. Raleigh. Fol. 366.*

such Times, no sooner had *Jotham* ended his Parable, but he ran away, and fled for fear of Abimelech (a).

After several Vicissitudes of *Sinning* and *Deliverance*, and *Sinning* again, it pleased the Lord at length to deliver his People into the Hand of the Philistines forty Years (b). But, the Lord having foretold, that *Sampson* was to begin to deliver Israel out of their Hand, and he beginning to act accordingly, tho' it was their Duty, as well as Interest, to embrace all Occasions, and use all Lawful Means, to free themselves from the Foreign Yoke, under which they groaned: Yet they basely resolved, and chose to bind and betray their Brother, into the Hands of his and their Mortal Enemies, the Philistines, who oppressed them, rather than contribute to their own Deliverance, by embracing the Opportunity and Means that God had put into their Hands! And all this too, upon a most false, as well as slavish Principle. Knowest thou not (say they) that the Philistines are Rulers over us? What is this that thou hast done unto us (c)? As if the bare Possession of the Power, could have given the Philistines a Right to the Dominion over them! Whereas, they could not but know, that, by their Law, no Foreign Power could have any Right thereto: And therefore that the bare Possession of such Power, without a particular Revelation from God, clearly proved, in its favour, could be nothing but a down-right Usurpation; and consequently was of no manner of Obligation upon their Consciences, but to be remov'd, as soon as they possibly could do it. 'Tis true, some may say, that the Success which the Philistines had had against Israel was "an Evidence of God's giving them a Right of Dominion, and an

" Earnest

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(a) Judg. ix. 21. (b) ——— xiii. 1. ——— 5. (c) ——— xv. 11.



# 46 The short HISTORY of

“ Earnest of God’s good Will to them ! That God’s  
 “ Hand, and visible Marks of his Providence were  
 “ in it ! That it was the Lord’s Doing ! ” &c. For  
 thus, when our Israel was under the Dominion of  
 Modern-Philistines, and our Rightful and Lawful  
 King driven by Unnatural Rebels and Regicides to  
 seek his Bread in *Exile*, and even there too *hunted like*  
*a Partridge in the Mountains* (a); when Our Inheri-  
 tance was turn’d to Strangers, our Houses to Aliens !  
 ---our Necks were under Persecution ! --- Servants ru-  
 led over us, and there was none (in Humane View) to  
 deliver us out of their Hands ! (b) &c. Then, I say, did  
 those False Prophets, most audaciously blaspheme  
 the Lord of Hosts ; stiling their Successes against his  
 Anointed. ---- “ the Glorious Accomplishment of  
 “ their Prayers ! --- God’s Sentence after solemn Ap-  
 “ peals ! ---- the Salvation of God ! ---- the Delive-  
 “ rance of our Laws, and Liberties, and Birth-  
 “ rights ! ---- (and, in short) the greatest Demon-  
 “ stration of Grace, that ever Heaven made, to any  
 “ of the Sons or Daughters of Men, next to the  
 “ Redemption of lost Man through Christ ”. (c).  
 To such an high Degree of Blasphemy do Men gra-  
 dually arise, when once they prostitute their Pens  
 for Gain, and let out their Tongues for Hire (d) !  
 Then, with a most wicked Design, to make Rebel-  
 lion seem meritorious, were good Names put up-  
 on the most damnable Actions : As Resistance of  
 Lawful Authority, was the distinguishing Note of  
 Election, whilst Obedience for Conscience sake, was a  
 certain Mark of Reprobation ! to be Peaceable and  
 Loyal was an unpardonable Crime, whilst to be Sedi-  
 tious

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(a) 1. Sam. xxviii. 20. (b) Lament. v. 2. ——— 5. ———  
 8. (c) See Speed’s Sermon in the College of Bristol, 24 October  
 1651. at the Publick Thanksgiving for the Defeat of the King  
 at Worcester Fight. (d) Mica. iii. 11.

*tious and Rebellious was a Cardinal Virtue! To fight against the King was fighting the Lord's Battles! Murdering Bishops was the Destruction of Antichrist! Pulling down Churches was Reformation from Popery! Plundering the Royalists was spoiling the Egyptians! Sequestring Mens Estates, was doing themselves Justice, (they being the Saints, and the Earth was theirs, with the Fulness thereof!) and binding their King in Chains, and their Nobles in Links of Iron, was helping the Lord against the Mighty, &c. Doctrines these very suitable to such Teachers; which therefore I should not have taken this Notice of here, had we not seen the same adopted and propagated, by some who would be thought Golden Candle-sticks in the Church of Christ!*

This Remark is however the more proper in this place, to shew the Fallacy of judging of any Cause from its Success: Since, in this very Book of Judges, we find a remarkable Instance to the purpose, in the two Defeats which the Children of Benjamin gave the rest of the Tribes of Israel; where we find, that the Just Cause suffered the Loss of Forty Thousand Israelites, and that it was not attended with Success till the Third Attack.

And indeed, the whole Book of Judges is nothing else but a Series of Histories to this purpose, to shew us, that Conquest, and Possession, and Success, alone, never gave any of the Foreign Princes a Right to the Dominion over Israel: But that still, in due time, God himself provided Deliverers, to destroy the Usurpers, whom he had permitted for a while, to Tyrannize over his People, for their Sins, and to restore them to their just Rights upon their Repentance. And is not here a plain Distinction, between the Providence of God and his Permission, that

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(a) *Judg. xx.*

## 48 *The short HISTORY of*

that whereas, in Judgment, he permitted their Neighbours to spoil them, in his *Mercy* he provided *Deliverers*, to rescue them out of their Hands? In a Word, "before we can make any Comments " on so doubtful a Text, we must first be sure, " that the Ground-work is well laid, and that " both the *Cause* it self, and the *Means* used to " advance it, are good " (a).

'Tis true, among these *Judges*, there was no such thing as any *Hereditary Descent* or *Succession*, by *Birthright*: Nor was it necessary, since God, who was himself their *King*, raised up whom he thought fit, as *Vice-Reys*, *Magistrates*, and *Officers* under him, upon extraordinary Occasions; letting them, between whiles, feel the Miseries of an *Inter-regnum*, which never happens in *Hereditary Governments*. And it is further remarkable, that as God always punished their Sins by *Foreign Instruments*, so, whenever he was pleased to deliver them, it was still by the Means of some one of their own Countrymen, unexpectedly raised up. And, as he permitted six several *Tyrants* to oppress them, so (to shew how much he delights in *Mercy* more than *Judgment*) he provided twice as many *Judges*, in their Distress, to deliver them.

Hitherto the Government of *Israel* had been a *Theocracy*: That is, God himself was their *King* after a peculiar manner, and ruled them by *Vice-roys* of his own more immediate Nomination, and according to Laws of his own making; the last Appeal or *Dernier Resort* being always in Extraordinary Cases, to himself. But now the People desiring a *King* by *Succession*, rather than *Deputation*, we shall find them governed after another manner: Namely, by a Race of *Hereditary Monarchs*, succeeding

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(a) Burn. Sermon. 23. Dec. 1688. p. 14.



ing one another, according to the *Natural Law* of *Primogeniture*; except in two or three of the first Instances, before the *Government* was thoroughly settled; as I shall shew in due Order.

After the Death of *Eli*, *Samuel* judged *Israel* all the Days of his Life: but, when he was old, he made his Sons Judges; who walked not in his Ways, but turned aside after *Lucre*, and took Bribes, and perverted Judgment (a). Under pretence of which Grievances and Mal-administration (for "when Mens Discontents grow ripe, there seldom wants a plausible Occasion to vent them (b)") the People, who are too naturally prone to *Revolutions*, and *Changes* of Government, grew weary of Judges, and longed for the Completion of God's Promise, desiring a King to judge them like all the Nations (c). By which last Words, we may perceive, that in those Days all the Nations were govern'd by Kings; whereas Common-Wealths were never once heard of, either in the Laws of God or Nature, but began by Rebellion and Usurpation; yea, and further too, that when the People asked a King as other Nations had, they "meant thereby principally (as our Convocation suppos'd) that such their Kings might by Succession govern them, so as one being dead, they might still have another" (d).

For that those Kings of the Nations were all Hereditary too, not Elective, we may reasonably conclude, since we find, that the *Israelites* were not then grown presumptuous enough; to undertake such a Revolution on their own Heads, and to proceed to an Election of a King by their own Authority (in which, doubtless, they would have been as

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(a) Sam. vii. 15. — viii. 1. — 3. (b) Stillingfl. Serm. 13. Nov. 1678. p. 7. — (c) Jer. 5. (d) Overal's Convoc. Book L. 1. c. xiv.

forward to imitate the *Nations*, if it had been *their* Practice, as in the *having* of one) tho' *All the Elders* of *Israel* had *gather'd themselves together in Convention* (a). But they, dreaming of no such Power, much less attempting to *usurp* it, applied themselves to *Samuel*, that by *his* Authority, or Interest (whom they knew to be a *Prophet* of the *Lord*, as well as their *Judge*) they might have a *King* set over them; saying to him, *Now make us a King to judge us, &c.* Yet neither would he take upon *himself* to do it, but was *displeas'd*, and *prayed unto the Lord* for his Direction (b). Here it seems most proper to obviate that common Objection which is made by certain *Republicans*, against *Kingly Government*. *Samuel* himself alone was not *displeas'd* with their Desire to alter his Government, but he tells 'em also, that *their Wickedness was great in the Sight of the Lord, in asking a King*; and the *People* themselves acknowledge, that *they had added unto all their Sins this Evil, to ask them a King* (c). But our best Interpreters agree, That their Sin was not in their desiring to have a *King* (for that I have shewn to have been agreeable to the *Revealed Will of God*) but in their doing it of a *preposterous Desire*, only that they might be like *all the Nations*, and *rejecting* (as much as in them lay) the *Lord* (d), by their *Disaffection* to that *Form of Government* which *himself* had appointed them, their being weary of *his Immediate Election and Appointment* of their Governour, and longing for a *Revolution*, without any Warrant or Direction for it from him at that particular Time, and without waiting for the Decease of *Samuel*, whom *God* himself had rais'd up to rule over them; and therefore *God* look'd

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(a) 1 Sam. vii. 4. (b) —Ver. 6. —xii. 12. 17. 19. (c) —vi. ii 7.  
(d) —9.

look'd on it, as a *rejection* of him more than Samuel, since he had appointed him. However, the Lord commanded him to *hearken* unto them in all that they said, but withal to shew them the *Manner* (or *Right*) of *Kings* (a); that they might not afterwards have any Pretence to complain of their *Privileges* and *Absolute Power*. Where likewise we may observe, how *Absolute* all the *Kings* of the *Nations* were; among whom there were no *Laws*, but the *King's Will and Pleasure*; "*Populus nullis legibus tenebatur, Arbitria Regum pro legibus erant.*" (b)

And what this *Manner* or *Right* of *Kings* was, we have expressed by *Samuel*, thus, "He will take your *Sons*, and appoint them for *himself*, for his *Chariots*, and to be his *Horsemen*, and some shall run before his *Chariots*; and he will appoint him *Captains* over *Thousands*, and *Captains* over *Fifties*, and will set them to ear his *Ground*, and to reap his *Harvest*, and to make his *Instruments* of *War*, and *Instruments* of his *Chariots*: And he will take your *Daughters* to be *Confessionaries*, and to be *Cooks*, and to be *Bakers*: And he will take your *Fields*, and your *Vineyards*, and your *Oliveyards*, even the best of them, and give them to his *Servants*: And he will take the *Tenth* of your *Seed*, and of your *Vineyards*, and give to his *Officers*, and to his *Servants*: And he will take your *Men-Servants*, and your *Maid-Servants*, and your goodliest young *Men*, and your *Asses*, and put them to his *Work*: He will take the *Tenth* of your *Sheep*; and ye shall be his *Servants*." (c), where I must observe, by the way, that the Word *Servants* is to be understood, not as *Servants* signifies *Slaves* and *Vassals*, but *Subjects*,

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(a) — Ver. 9. (b) Justin. p. 1. (c) 1 Sam. viii. 11, 13, 13.



“ Subjects, who owe all Duty and Service to their  
 “ Prince as far as he needs them ” (a). Now, that  
 this was not (as a *Celebrated Preacher* already quoted  
 contends) “ such a very sad and lamentable Ac-  
 “ count of the *Miseries* and *Unhappineses* peculiar-  
 “ ly belonging to this *Form of Government*, and  
 “ consequent upon the Establishment of it, as must  
 “ be a Demonstration to all, who have not the  
 “ most unworthy Notions of *Almighty God*, that  
 “ he could have no Original Design of appointing  
 “ such a *Form of Government*, as the best, or as his  
 “ own *Institution*, sacredly and inviolably to be  
 “ kept up in any Nation, much less in all the  
 “ Nations of the World ” (b). That this was  
 not so (I say) as he insists, needs no other  
 Proof than what is already herein before made  
 of the *Divine Institution*, of this very *Form of Go-*  
*vernment*: And that too as the best for all the *Nati-*  
*ons of the World*, originally designed, and promised  
 by God to his own Chosen People, the *Israelites*,  
 even before they had any Being, as a Nation; and  
 no other *Form of Government* ever once *Instituted*,  
 promised, or provided for them. And how sacredly and  
 inviolably to be kept up, if not sufficiently proved  
 already, will plainly appear, upon Perusal of the  
 Words wherewith the Prophet concludes this Ac-  
 count of the *Right of Kings*, saying, — Ye shall cry out  
 in that Day, because of your King, which ye shall have  
 chosen you, and the Lord will not bear you in that Day  
 (c). So that, whether these be indeed “ some of  
 “ the many sore Calamities which are too proba-  
 “ ble Consequences upon the Establishment of Ab-  
 “ solute Monarchy in any Nation, and which may  
 “ be all summed up in that one Comprehensive  
 Word

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(a) *Sherk. of Resist. N. 24.* (b) *B. Hoadl. Sermon at Hertf. March*  
*22. 1707.* (c) *1 Sam. viii. 18.* (d) *Hoadl. ubi. Supr.*

“ Word Slavery ” (a), (as the Preacher last quoted affects to call them : Or whether “ all these were “ not intolerable, but such as have been born, and are “ so still, by free Consent of the Subjects towards “ their Princes, and what Subjects ought with Pa- “ tience to bear at their Sovereign’s Hand ” (a), as Sir Walter Raleigh observes from other Authors, upon further Examination : Whether Samuel here describes a King or a Tyrant, it is all one in this Point, for ’tis plain the People had nothing to do, but to Obey their King ; and in Case of his Tyrannizing over them (since he was their Undoubted Lawful King) they were to have no Remedy, but (such as the Primitive Christians had in those Cases) Prayers and Tears : Ye shall cry out in that Day (says Samuel), and the Lord will not hear you ; that is, you must not expect “ that God will alter the Go- “ vernment for you again, how much soever you “ may complain of it ” (b). And it seems very reasonable to believe, That God Almighty did not lay before the People that long List of the Regal Prerogatives, in order to deter them from desiring the Government of Absolute Monarchs as the Kings of all Nations were (c) (as the Celebrated Preacher newly quoted insinuates, without meaning it as a Reflection upon Kingly Government to be sure ! ) : But rather, to shew us, that when we in our Worldly Wisdom, and under pretence of Publick Good, take upon us to murmur at, and cast off such Government and Governours as the Lord had appointed us, instead of bettering our selves by such Revolutions, we may reasonably expect Tyrants to rule us with Rods of Iron ; as has been frequently verified in most Nations of the World !

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(a) Sir Wa. Ral. Fol. 393. (b) Case of Resist. p. 13. (c) B. Hoadl. ubi Supr. p. 2.

## 54 The short HISTORY of

Nevertheless, the *Israelites* still persisting in their Suit, *Samuel* proceeded to the providing a *King* for them; but (to take away all Colour of the People's having any Hand in it) he first dissolved their *unauthorized Convention* (a).

Now the Lord had told *Samuel* in his Ear a Day before *Saul* came --- that he would send him a Man, to be Captain over his People (b): And when he did come, *Samuel* was so far from making him *King* even by his own Authority, (that tho' he was both a Prophet and a Judge of *Israel*) he did not so much as know him, any otherwise than by Faith, till the Lord said --- Behold the Man whom I spake to thee of; this same shall Reign over my People (c). Accordingly *Samuel* took *Saul* apart from all the People: And when they were alone, anointed him in the Name of the Lord (d). And when he again called the People together unto the Lord (e) he did it not for their Consent or Approbation, but only by the solemn Casting of the Lot (as is commonly supposed, though that does not appear in the Text) or by some other Means of revealing or declaring the Divine Designation, to let them see him whom the Lord had Chosen (f).

Here it is very remarkable, and ought for ever to Silence all the Clamour of our *Fanaticks* and *Republicans* on this Head, That in all this Transaction, we do not find the least Evidence in any of these Conventions, or General Assemblies, of the People's Ordering or Resolving, or in any Manner acting or assisting in this Affair; further than this, That after the Lord (who has the whole disposing thereof (g) had caused his Lot or other Mark of

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(a) 1 Sam. viii. 22. (b) — ix. 15. (c) — vers. 17  
 (d) — x. 1. (e) — vers. 17. (f) — vers. 24.  
 (g) Prov. xvi. 33.



Designation) to fall upon the *same Person*, whom he had *before Anointed*, and had directed the *People* to find him where he had hid himself, *All the People shouted, and Said, God save the King (a)!* As Doubtless they would have done, *whosoever* had been the Person, since the having *A King* was what they only wanted and longed for. Nay, and the very Words of the Text, *they* (that is the *People*) *inquired of the Lord further (b)*, or, as it is in the Septuagint, *inquired further of the Lord*) seem strongly to imply some more direct and immediate Application to the *Lord* in the whole Transaction: At least, I'm sure it plainly proves, that nothing was done therein without his express Direction. Besides, that *Saul* was not so Popular a Man, as to have the Common Suffrage, and to be Elected by the *Voice of the People*, appears in this, that the *Children of Belial* (who, by the way, are oftentimes the *Majority*) mocked and *despised him*, instead of promoting his Election. Neither was the *renewing* the Kingdom afterwards in *Gilgal (c)*, any more than the *People's* being summoned again by *Samuel*, to pay their Duty of *Homage* and *Allegiance* to *Saul*, who was already their *King* by *Right Divine*.

And yet, for all this, certain Persons are still pleased to insist, or insinuate from this very Case (tho' nothing can be more clear to the contrary) that "God submitted *Saul* to their (the *People's*) Election, in giving them the Liberty to chuse the "Tribe and Person by Lot" (d)! that "the *People* have "an Interest in agreeing to the *Form of their Government*, "or *Electing* the *Person* that is to Reign over them! "That *Kings* ought not to be set up over any *People*, "but by their own *Consent*, and at their own *Desire*, "and upon such Foundations, as they themselves,

Solemnly

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(a) 1 Sam. x. 24. (b) ———— verse. 27. (c) 1 ———— xi. 14. (d) Blackeway's Sermon, Novemb. 1715. p. 19.

# 56 The short HISTORY of

“ Solemnly agree to! That when a King is *set*  
 “ *over any People*, there is not any Obligation of their  
 “ continuing under such a Form, any longer than  
 “ the *Lifetime* of that *King*, to whom they  
 “ voluntarily Subjected themselves ” (a)! &c.  
 Nay, and One there is, who (notwithstanding his  
 great Pretences of *Loyalty* at present) has the *As-*  
*surance* to affirm, that “ *Saul* had no more than  
 “ *Heaven’s Connivance* ” (b)! Strange Doctrines  
 these! when (not to insist upon its being cen-  
 sured by a *Convocation*, as a great *Error* (c), the  
*Holy Ghost* himself has inspired the *Scripture Historian*  
 expressly to assure us, that the *Form of Government*  
 was originally appointed them by the *Lord*, without  
 the *People’s Consent*, *Agreement* or *Desire*, nay, and  
 even before they were a *People*; that this very  
*King* was *set up over them* by *God himself*, without  
 their having the least *Knowledge* of him, or where  
 to find him; that by the *Provisional Precept* above-  
 mentioned, the *People’s Obligation of Obedience*,  
 is not to determine with the *Life* of their *King*,  
 but to continue to his *Children* after him; and  
 that (as to *Saul*) *Samuel* knew no more of him than  
 the rest of the *People* did, but assures us him-  
 self, that the *Lord had chosen and set him King over*  
*them*; As hath been here before particularly pro-  
 ved. Nay, *Mr. Whiston* has himself unwarily an-  
 swered this Objection, where he quotes *Scripture*  
 to prove, that “ during all the *Life* of *Samuel*, *Saul*  
 “ never thought his *Authority* sufficiently safe  
 “ and sacred, but when it was owned and suppor-  
 “ ted by *Samuel* (d) (the *Prophet of the Lord*) ”: A  
 plain Evidence to me, that he knew his *Title and*  
*Authority* depended entirely upon *God alone*, and  
 not upon the *People*; nothing being more natural  
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(a) Whist. *Script. Polit.* p. 26, 27. (b) *Bradb.* 5. Nov. 1711. p. 12.  
 (c) *Overall’s Conuoc.* Book L. 1. Cap. xiii. (d) *Script. Polit.* p. 27.

(as Experience tells us) than for Princes to depend upon those for their *Safety and Settlement*, from whom they received the *Sovereign Power*.

And, as the Lord had given them a King, so he also gave them *Laws* (a), whereby they were to be governed by him, not to *Limit the King's Prerogative*, or debase the *Sovereign Power*, so as to make him *accountable to, and deposable by, the People*: For he was vested with that *Absolute Power*, which the Judges had also enjoyed before him, that whosoever should disobey him, and not *hearken unto his Sentence or Judgment*, should be put to *Death* (b); which being so agreeable to that of *Samuel*, where he declares the *Right of the Kings*, and the *Duty of Subjects*, as is before recited, plainly Teaches the *Duty and Necessity of Unconditional Obedience* (either *Active or Passive*) to *Lawful Princes*, and the *Unwarrantableness of Resisting their Persons or Authority*. And indeed (says one of our *Eminent Historians*) "If *Practice* do shew the greatness of *Authority*, even the best Kings of *Judah and Israel* were not so tied by any *Laws*, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest things, and commanded some of their own *Princes*, and of their own *Brethren*, to be slain, without any *Trial of Law*, being sometime by *Prophets* reprehended, sometime not" (c); but (as I may add from another Authority) never by the *Sanhedrim*, or *States of the Realm* (d). All which I would recommend to the *Serious Consideration* of *Mr. Whiston*, who seems to insinuate a Sort of a *Contract* between *Saul* and the *People* (e). A strange Sort of a *Contract* this! wherein the *King* was absolutely at his *Liberty* to do what he pleased, and the *People* had no *Redress* for their greatest *Grievances*, but to Cry unto the Lord (the only *Ruler of Princes*!) by whom he

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(a) 1 Sam. x. 25. (b) Deut. xvii. 12. (c) Raleigh fol. 393. (d) Stillingfl. ubi Supr. p. 38. (e) Script. Polit. p. 26.



was set over them, and to whom *alone* he was *Accountable* for his *Administration*! tho' by this way of arguing, that *Scripture Politician* may perhaps prove the *People* guilty of *breaking the Original Contract*, whenever they *rebel* against or *resist* their *Lawful Prince*, or use any other *Arms* against him than *Prayers* and *Tears*, and *Crying to the Lord*; which I'm persuaded is not *his Aim*!

But to proceed. *Saul*, not being the promised *King* of the *House of Judah*, the *Lord*, (not the *People*) *rejected him* (a); tho' not for *Tyranny* over his *Subjects*, but for too much *Clemency* to his *Enemies* (b). And thereupon the *Lord* sent *Samuel* to the *House of Jesse*, and gave him particular *Instructions* to *Anoint David* there, whom he had *provided for his King* (c). Not that *David* was hereby invested actually with the *Kingly Power*: "But this *Anointing* was only a *Designation* of him to succeed *Saul* after his *Death*. So *David* always understood it; looking upon *Saul* as the *Lord's Anointed*, as long as he lived; that is, as the *King of Israel* (d)". And therefore, even after that *Designation*, when *Saul*, then become a *Tyrant* and *Persecutor*, was in full *Pursuit* of his *Life*, and *David* had him twice in his *Power*, yet he absolutely refused to hurt his *Sacred Person*, saying, *Who can stretch forth his Hand against the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltless* (e)? Nay, his *Heart smote him, because he had cut off Saul's Skirt* (f); and he put to death the *Amalekite*, who had lent his *Hand* to slay *Saul* (g).

And yet, notwithstanding all this, many popular *Writers* and *Preachers*, take the *Liberty*, to insist upon the *Lawfulness*, and even the *Necessity* of *Self-Defence*,

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(a) 1 Sam. xv. 23, 26. — xvi. 1. (b) — xx. 9.  
 (c) — xvi. 12. (d) Patrick in loco. (e) 1 — xxvi. 9.  
 (f) — xxiv. 5. (g) 2 Sam. i. 15.

Defence, and of direct Resistance of private Subjects to their *Lawful Kings* in Cases of Extremity, &c. (as Mr. *Whiston* has observ'd and rebuk'd one of 'em for) "Perhaps, says he, there may be some Cases, in which this *Self-Defence* may not be unlawful; "However, I can hardly, I confess, find this Matter clear enough in *Scripture* to warrant a *Christian's* Practice upon that foot (a)". Thus far Mr. *Whiston*. And indeed, tho' it would not be so strange in others, yet for those who appear in the *Habits* and *Orders* of the *Church of England*, to fly so openly in the Face of her known *Doctrines*, is very surprising. For, "blessed be God, our *Church* hates and "condemns this *Doctrine*, from what Hand soever "it come, and hath established the Rights and Authority of *Princes*, on sure and *unalterable* Foundations, enjoyning an *entire Obedience* to all the "lawful Commands of Authority, and an *absolute Submission* to that Supreme Power God hath put in "our Sovereign's Hands. This *Doctrine* we justly "glory in. And if any that had their Baptism and "Education in our *Church*, have turn'd *Renegades* "from this, they proved no less *Enemies* to the "Church her self, than to the *Civil Authority*: So "that their *Apostacy* leaves no Blame on our "Church, which glories in nothing more than in a "well-temper'd *Reformation* from the later *Corruptions* which the dark Ages brought in, to the "pure and *primitive Doctrines* which our *Saviour* and "his *Apostles* taught, and the first *Christians* retained "and practised for many Ages (b)". And so our *Homilies* (approved by the *Articles* of our Religion, for godly and wholesome *Doctrine*, and necessary for these Times) (c) do expressly deny the *Lawfulness* as well

(a) Script. Polit. Dedic. p. iv. (b) Burnet's Sermon. Decem. 6. 1674. (c) Artic. xxxv.

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well as *Necessity* of either *Resistance* or *self Defence* against the *Lawful Power*: And that too grounded upon *this very Case* now before me; arguing that "Tho' *Saul* was of the *worst* sort of *Princes* out of " *God's* favour — and sought the *Destruction* " of *David* by all means possible: And though " *David* was then the very *best* of all *Subjects* — " highly and singular in the favour of *God*, — " as well as of the *People* — and by *God* him- " self appointed to reign after *Saul*; yet for all " this, he would not even save his *Life* by *Rebelli-* " on or any *Resistance*, but by *Flight*, and *hiding* " himself from the *King's* Sight " (a), &c. Much less did he ever " Seize upon him to " carry him *Prisoner*, to be tried by the *Sanhe-* " *drim*, nor is there any *Foundation* for any " such *Power* in the *Sanhedrim*, over the *Per-* " sons of their *Sovereigns*: It neither being con- " tained in the *Grounds* of its *Institution*, nor " any *Precedent* occurring in the *Story* of the *Bible* " which gives the least *Countenance* to it. Nay " several *Passages* of *Scripture* utterly overthrow " it; for, how could *Solomon* have said, *where the* " *Word of a King* is there is *Power*, and *who may say* unto him " *what dost thou* (b)? if by the *Constitution* of their " *Government*, the *Sanhedrim* might have control- " led him, in what he said or did " (c)? There were not wanting some to insinuate unto him, that *Provi-* " *dence* had put the *King* into his *Power*, that by his *Destruction* the *Throne* might be *Vacant* for himself to ascend; *Behold the Day of which the Lord* " *said unto thee, Behold I will deliver thine Enemy into* " *thine Hand, that thou mayst do to him as it shall seem good*

(a) *Homily* against *Wilful Rebellion*. (b) *Eccles. viii. 4.*  
(c) *Stillingsfl. ubi Supr. p. 37.* (d) *1 Sam. xxi. 4.* (e) —



unto thee (a). — God hath delivered thine Enemy into thine Hand this Day (b). But David (" though " he might have pleaded Necessity and Providence " as much as ever any could " (c), when he was thus persecuted by Saul, and the Persecutor strangely delivered into his Hands) had nevertheless another Opinion of the Person even of a bad King, and other Notions of God and his Providence : For, looking upon it only as a Trial and Probation of him, and that nothing could be Necessary for him to do that was not Lawful in it self, The Lord forbid (said he) that I should do this thing unto my Master the Lord's Anointed. — Wickedness proceedeth from the Wicked, but mine Hand shall not be upon thee (d). — As the Lord liveth, the Lord shall smite him; on his Day shall come to die, or he shall descend into Battle and perish; The Lord forbid, that I should stretch forth mine Hand against the Lord's Anointed (e) : Thereby clearly intimating, that as the Lord had set Saul in the Throne, so it must be the Act of the Lord alone (and not that of Man) which was to make the Throne Vacant. Neither was Saul's having forsaken the Lord, accounted a Forfeiture of his Right of Sovereignty, but he held the Crown nevertheless to the Day of his Death.

Now, after Saul's Death, was David by the Lord's Direction, Anointed King in Hebron, where he reigned over the House of Judah, seven Years and six Months (f) : But the Israelites, for some time, adhered, to Ishbosheth, the next known Heir of the Family of Saul (for Mephibosheth the Son of Jonathan was not to be found (g), as of Course to succeed to the Throne, according to the Law of Nature,

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(a) 1 Sam. xxiv. 4. (b) — xxvi. 8. (c) Stillingfl. ubi  
Supr. p. 36. (d) — xxiv. 6. 13. (e) xxvi. 10, 11. (f) 2  
Sam. ii. 11. (g) — iv. 4.

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till, becoming sensible of the Lord's-express Designation of *David*, they came together to him, and Anointed him King over *Israel* also (a).

Here, though we read, that King *David* made a League with them (which some People have mistaken for an Original Contract) we cannot understand it, of his Submitting to any Terms or Limitations: But, as the Lord had said to *David*, Thou shalt feed my People *Israel*, and thou shalt be Ruler over my People *Israel*, Therefore came all the Elders of *Israel* to the King to *Hebron* — according to the Word of the Lord by *Samuel* (b), not to Elect nor to Confirm, but only to Recognize his Divine Right, and to pay their Homage and Allegiance to the King, as the Ordinance of God; And *David* perceived that the Lord (not the People) had established him King over *Israel* (c), And accordingly, the Lord saith, I have found *David* my Servant, with my holy Oil have I anointed him (d).

After all this, with what Colour of Scripture Reason, or Good Sense, *David* can be said to have been “called to the Throne by God, and the Voice of the People” (e), I own my self at a loss to understand: Since nothing can be plainer than that neither the Lord, nor his Prophet, ever once asked the People's Voice or Consent, nor desired their Concurrence thereunto: Nay and further, that *David* was so far from being Popular, that even when he offered himself afterwards to fight in the Common Cause against *Goliath*, neither the King himself, nor his General knew so much as whose Son he was (f), till they were told by his own Mouth.

And though *David* had, either through Humane Frailty, or by the Advice of Evil Counsellors, fallen

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(a) 2 Sam. v. 1, 2. (b) 2 Sam. v. 2. 1 Chron. xi. 2.  
 (c) 2 Sam. v. 12. (d) Psa. lxxxix. 20. (e) Dr. Chandl. at Worc.  
 7 Jun. 1716. p. 3.

fallen into *divers grievous Sins*: Yet, having washed away those Sins by a Sincere Repentance, and Resolution to make *Restitution* (a), so far as was in his Power, he is, in general, recorded by the *Holy Ghost*, to have *done that which was Right in the Eyes of the Lord*, and to have *executed Judgment and Justice unto all his People* (b); and not that, upon his falling into Sin, he had forfeited his *Right of Dominion*, and ought to be *Deposed*; as our *Modern Fanaticks*, and some of the worst of *Papists* do pretend. Neither is there the least Appearance of Evidence, that the *Sanhedrim* (or *States of the Nation*) ever presumed, or pretended to any Right, to take any Cognizance of these things; Nay, "it is ridiculous to think that *High Court* could controul their *King* (c)."

However there wanted not an *Enemy*, even of his own Blood, to *Rebel* against him, and *Usurp* his Kingdoms. For *Absalom* his Son, was forward to conspire against him, and by the Pretence of Redressing Imaginary Grievances and other Popular Artifices, deluded the People into *Real Ones*, and Stole the Hearts of the Men of Israel from their Lawful King: Oh! (Said he) that I were made Judge in the Land, that every Man which hath any Suit or Cause, might come unto me, and I would do him Justice (d)! By that his Treasonable Declaration cunningly insinuating, that the King regarded not to do his Subjects Justice! How just their Complaints of Grievances were! How many and great Defects there were in his Father's Administration! And how ready he would be to redress all Grievances, and careful to consult the Publick Good, if he could get the Possession of his Father's Throne!

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By

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(a) *Sam* xii. 6. (b) 1 *Kin* xv. 5. 2 *Sam*. viii. 15. (c) *Psalm* trick on 1 *Sam*. viii. 18. (d) 2 *Sam*. xv. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.



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By these and such like *Artifices* the *Conspiracy* became strong and General: For the People increased continually with Absalom; though many went with him in their *Simplicity*, and knew not any thing (a) they were to do, or at least never considered the fatal Consequence thereof.

Thus David, by the Increase of his Enemies, and Desertion of his Supposed Friends, was reduced, in so much, that he was forced to Abdicate the Government and to escape for his Life beyond Jordan, and the good King wept as he went up, and had his Head covered, and he went bare-foot, and the People that was with him (b). Upon which Abdication or Desertion (if that may be called so which was attended with such manifest Force), Absalom came to Jerusalem, and was permitted by God, for the Sins of the Nation, to take Possession of the Vacant Throne, and of the whole Kingdom from Dan even to Bersheba (c): So that, for a time, there was no Opposition to him, in behalf of the Exiled King! Tho' to their Immortal Honour let it be remembered, that all the Priests and Levites retain'd their Natural Allegiance, and continued Loyal to the King (d). And this was perhaps the main Reason, why the Rebellions of Absalom and Sheba were of so short a Continuance; God having so guarded the Government of the Jews, by a strict Conformity and Uniformity, that without a Schism in the Church no Rebellion against the State could long continue.

But now, when Treason was in Fashion among the Multitude, and Faith but to be found among the few, Ziba also sought to betray his Loyal Master Mephibosheth (e), and Shimei presumed to cast Stones even

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(a) 2 Sam. ii. 11. (b) 2 Sam. xv. 14. — 30. — xvii. 11. (c) — xvi. 15. — xvii. 11. (d) 2 Sam. xv. 24. (e) — xvi. 5.

even at his *Sovereign Lord the King*, and to *Curse* him to his Face (a); (which, how great a Crime soever it was, “for one *Shimei* that there was in *Israel* in “*David’s* time, we have a Thousand in ours (b)”: And yet ’tis remarkable, that immediately upon his *Happy Restoration*, that *Blasphemer of the Lord* and of his *Anointed*, was the very first who made a *formal Submission* to the *King*, and address’d him for his *Favour* (c); which (however undeserv’d) he readily obtained.

That *Revolution* (tho’ it is by the *Holy Ghost* condemn’d as a most *Unnatural Rebellion* and *Treasonable Usurpation*) was not without its *False Prophets*, who had the *Impudence* to impute it all to *God’s Providence* and the *Lord’s Doing*! The *Lord*, said *Shimei*, hath delivered the *Kingdom* into the *Hand* of *Absalom* thy *Son* (d). Such as he could plainly behold the *Hand* of *God*, and visible *Marks* of his *Providence* in all this! But they had not before their *Eyes* the *Fifth Commandment*; which having an express *Promise* of *Long Life* to the *Obedient*; consequently implies a *Threatning* to the *Disobedient*, that they who dishonour and disobey their *Parents*, whether *Natural*, *Spiritual*, or *Political* (and much more then they who rebel against them all) shall be cut short. ’Tis true, the great *Revolutions* of *Government*, are to be attributed to a particular *Providence* of *God*, who is the *Judge*, and putteth down one, and setteth up another (e), which holds with respect to *Nations* as well as particular *Persons*. But still this “doth not found any *Right of Dominion* (as “some fancied, till the *Argument* from *Providence* “was returned with greater *Force* upon them- “selves): But it shews, that when *God* pleases to

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“make

(a) 2 Sam. xvi. 6. (b) Heyrick’s *Serm.* 26 July 1685. p. 4.  
 (c) 2 Sam. xix. 16. (d) 2 Sam. xvi. 8. (e) Psal. lxxv. 7.

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“ make use of *Persons* or *Nations*, as the *Scourges* in  
 “ his Hand, to punish a People with, he gives  
 “ them Success above their Hopes or Expectations;  
 “ but that Success gives them no Right” (a). And  
 that the People’s Choice or Submission was another  
 of this *Usurper’s* pretended Titles we may perceive by  
*Hushai’s* mentioning that as one of the Reasons for  
 his seeming Revolt, saying, --*Whom the Lord, and*  
*this People, and all the Men of Israel choose, his will*  
*I be, and with him will I abide* (b); which by the way,  
 is the first time that we hear of that *Traiterous* Max-  
 im, *Vox Populi Vox Dei*, that the *Voice of the Peo-*  
*ple is the Voice of God!*

And yet, notwithstanding all these pretended Ti-  
 tles of Abdication, Possession, Success, Providence,  
 Election, Submission, and (what is still more) that  
 all this happened agreeably to what the Lord had  
 foretold to David, by the Prophet *Nathan* (c), *Abša-*  
*lom* is never once esteemed King, but his Enterprize  
 is, by the *Holy Ghost*, termed a Conspiracy (d), e-  
 ven when it was in its Height: and *David*, tho’  
 out of Possession and in Exile, is every where ac-  
 knowledg’d as the only Lawful and Rightful King;  
 And as such, afterwards was his happy Restoration  
 effected by his Repenting Subjects, who as with one  
 Heart, sent this Word unto the King, Return thou and  
 all thy Servants, and contended fiercely among them-  
 selves, which of them should be the most active in  
 bringing it about (e). Which manifests the Truth  
 of this Proposition, “ That just Authority, howe-  
 “ ever depressed for a Season, usually recovers and  
 “ gets up again; and unjust Usurpation, however  
 “ high and successful for a while, seldom holds  
 “ out long against a Righteous Title (f).” And the  
 “ Reason

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(a) Stillingfl. Sermon. 13. Nov. 1678. p. 17. (b) 2 Sam. xvi.  
 18. (c) — xii. 11. (d) xv. 12. (e) 2 Sam. xix. 14. — 9,  
 43. (f) Ford’s Sermon, 28 June 1660. p. 7.



“ Reason thereof seems very convincing ; for while  
 “ any Man holds and claims only by *Unrighteousness* ;  
 “ he doth not hold of *God* ; nor doth *God* look upon  
 “ the Thing he holds, as his, till some way of  
 “ *Right* makes it so : Whilst he holds it by *Wrong* ;  
 “ he rates him not as the *Owner*, but *Usurper*, and  
 “ therefore bids him *Restore* the *Right Owner* his  
 “ *own* again ; and that is all any Man ever gets  
 “ with Him by meer *Unrighteous Possession* ; viz. no  
 “ *Property* therein, but only *Guilt* and *Punishment*,  
 “ and a *Necessity* of making *Restitution* (a) ! ”

Here I could not but make a Stop to compare the  
 Modesty of this *King de facto* (b), *Absalom*, with  
 the Unwarrantable Assurance of our *English Pro-*  
*teCTOR, Oliver* ; where I can't find the least Foot-  
 step of any *Oath, Covenant* or *Engagement* to *Absa-*  
*lom*, much less any *Abjuration* of the Titles and  
 Pretentions of *David*, the *King de jure*, tho' he  
 was then in *Exile*, and thereby divested of the Ex-  
 ercise of his Sovereign Authority. And therefore  
 not finding any thing of that here (in which our  
 late *English Usurpers* so far outwent those *Jews*) I  
 shall not presume to determine, whether in case  
 such *Oaths, or Covenants, or Engagements* had been  
 required in *Absalom's* Case, the People of *Israel*  
 could with a good Conscience have taken them ;  
 nor whether, if they had, by whatever Induce-  
 ments, been prevail'd withal to take 'em, such  
*Oaths, or Covenants, or Engagements*, had obliged them  
 to any thing but *Repentance and Restitution* ; nor whe-  
 ther such People had been bound in Conscience, upon  
 the first Conviction of their *Illegality*, to have re-  
 versed and disclaimed them ; nor particularly, whe-  
 ther *Joab*, who (c) thrust three Darts through the Heart

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of

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(a) Kettlewell, Vol. 2. Fol. 213. See Beverege's Sermon. of  
 Restitution. (b) 2 Sam. xvi. 16. (c) ——— xiii. 14.

of Absalom, the *Usurper*, had been guilty of *Treason*; Nor whether he could have justified himself in so doing by virtue of his *Natural Allegiance* to *David*, the *King de Jure*: These, I say, are Questions, that, not being resolved in the Case before me, I shall not presume to determine, but refer them to be discuss'd at Leisure, by the Help of the several *Eminent Authorities* here quoted (a), whilst I proceed in my History. However, with respect to that other Case, to which this is applicable, in our *English History*, I must observe, that the Representative Body of the Nation, in a Free Parliament assembled, declared those *Oaths, Covenants, and Engagements* which were imposed upon the Subjects, as well as all other the *Acts and Ordinances* made, during the late *Grand Usurpation*, to have been  
 “ Unlawful, and imposed against the Fundamen-  
 “ tal Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom: To  
 “ have had in themselves not the least Colour of  
 “ Law or Justice to support them; and (therefore)  
 “ to have been Null and Void to all Intents and  
 “ Purposes whatsoever ” (b).

*Absalom* being sent to his Place, and the Men of *Israel* being discontented, that those of *Judah* had been more active in the *King's Restoration* than themselves, every Man of *Israel* went up from after *David*, and followed *Sheba*, who embraced that Occasion to *Usurp* the *Ten Tribes* himself (c). But, he soon met with his Reward, being pursued to Death by certain Loyal Subjects (d): And then all the People return'd again to their true *Allegiance*. In which Case it is observable, that tho' this *Usurper* had also all the Tribes of *Israel*, while *David* had but the

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(a) See Bp. Hall's *Propositions*; Sanderson's *Cases of Oaths*; The whole Duty of Man; Wake's *Discourse of Swearing*; Amesius, and other *Casuits*. (b) Stat. xiii. Ca. 2. C. 1. (c) 2 Sam. xx. 1, 2. ——— (d) ——— 22.

the Loyal Tribe of *Judah* with him, he was never once termed a *King*, but a *Man of Belial*; which, (as a *Learned Prelate* observes) "in effect is as much" as if it had been said, that *he was* of his *Father* "the Devil" (a). — However, here it may not be improper to observe, that "the Publick Peace" being once broken, it is impossible for them that "begin a Civil War, to stop where they will, or" "end it when they please, or even to judge what" "their own Resolutions will be, as the State of" "Things alters or advances. New Men will graft" "upon the Schemes and Successes of the prime" "Designers; and they that are once engaged, will" "gradually Advance to the highest Villainies, rather" "than quit the Game, or suffer it to be played" "out of their Hands" (b).

As to *Solomon*, it is granted that he was *King* by *Divine Right* in the strictest Sense of the Word (c). For, though he was a *Younger Son* of *David*, and consequently indeed could not be the *next Heir* by Birth, as himself acknowledged to his Mother, concerning *Adoniah*, saying, *Ask for him the Kingdom* also; for *he is mine Elder Brother* (d) (where, by the way, we may observe that *Solomon* himself, who did not use to speak improperly, affirms that by the *Ordinary Right* and *Course of Succession*, the *Kingdom* was to have gone according to the *Natural Law of Primogeniture*): But, as he was the Person, who was, *expresly* and *by Name*, promised to be *Established* in the *Throne*, by the *Lord*, even before his Birth (e); of which *David* was also put in mind afterwards by *Nathan* the Prophet of the *Lord* (f); Therefore (and for that Reason only) it

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(a) *Ush. of Obedience of Subj.* p. 125. (b) *Chandl. Serm.* 7. *Jun.* 1716. p. 23. (c) *J. Archer at Tunbridge*, 8 *Aug.* 1714. p. 27. (d) 1 *Kin.* ii. 22. (e) 2 *Sam.* vii. 12. (f) 1 *Chr.* xxii. 9, 10.



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it was, that Solomon was immediately set upon the Throne, by David's Order, according to the Word of the Lord (a).

This is further manifested both by David and Solomon himself. For David instructing Solomon in God's Promises and his Duty, tells him, *The Word of the Lord came to me, saying A Son shall be born to thee, his Name shall be Solomon: and I will establish the Throne of his Kingdom over Israel for ever* (b). And in a Set Speech, wherein he declared both his own and Solomon's Divine Right, he says, *The Lord God of Israel chose me before all the House of my Father, to be King over Israel for ever--: And of all my Sons, he hath chosen Solomon, my Son, to sit upon the Throne of the Kingdom of the Lord over Israel; and he said unto me, I will establish his Kingdom for ever* (c) —. And again he saith, *Solomon my Son, whom alone God hath chosen* (d), &c. Thus Solomon also himself says, *The Lord hath performed his Word that he spake, and I am risen up in the room of David my Father, and sit on the Throne of Israel, as the Lord promised* (e) —. And again Solomon said unto God, *Thou hast shewed great Mercy unto David my Father, and hast made me to Reign in his stead* (f). In full Conviction whereof, and to put his Title out of all Doubt, all the Princes, and the Mighty Men, and all the Sons likewise of King David, submitted themselves unto Solomon the King (g).

'Tis true, Adonijah (his Eldest Surviving Brother) at first made a Party to secure his Natural Right of Succession. And such was the Universal Respect to the Law of Primogeniture, that all Israel set their Faces on him, that he should reign (h): But he soon was convinced of his Error, and acknowledged,

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(a) 1 Kin. i. 11, &c. (b) 1 Chron. xxii. 8, &c. (c) 1 Chron. xxviii. 4, 5, 6, 7. (d) ——— xxix. 1, &c. (e) 1 Kin. vii. 20. (f) 2 Chron. i. 7. (g) 1 Chron. xxi. 24. (h) 1 Kin. ii. 15.

nowledged, that *the Kingdom was his Brother Solomon's from the Lord*; who *alone* has the Power and Prerogative to dispense with, and supersede his *own Laws*, and those of *Nature*.

Here, though the Case is plain enough in it self, yet I find it necessary to add a Remark with respect to the Insinuation of *Mr. Whiston*. He admits, that *Adonijah* was the *Eldest Son then alive*, but insinuates, that nevertheless, *Adonijah* himself "does" not yet deny, that the *Consent of the People* was "also requisite in such a Case"; and that when God "turned the Hearts of the People to recognize *Solomon*, that Recognition was a *Sufficient Title to the Throne*, even in *Barr* to that *Primogeniture* it self" (a). In answer to which, and to demonstrate the Fallacy thereof, it is observable, that *Adonijah* affirms (and appeals even to *Solomon's Mother* for the Truth of it) that the *Right of Succession was his*: *Thou knowest* (says he) that the Kingdom was *mine* —; (meaning by the *Natural Right of Primogeniture*): as if he had said (according to *Peter Martyr*) this is so *Notorious and Manifest*, that it is impossible you should be ignorant of it (b); For (as *Adonijah* proceeds) so fully sensible was every Body of that my *Inherent Right*, by virtue of the *Laws of God and Nature* (which also they knew, to be absolutely *Indefeasible* (c) without the manifest and apparent Interposition of *God himself*, and that too, not by doubtful *Events*, which some affect to call the *Appearance of God by his Providence*, but by an express and clear *Revelation*, for that purpose) that they, even all *Israel*, set their Faces on me that I should reign, as being their *King's Eldest Son*. But when it appeared beyond all Doubt, by such

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(a) *Script. Polit.* p. 29, 30. (b) *P. Mart. in loco.* (c) *Deut.* xxi. 15.

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Publick Revelation, to be the Will of God, to alter the *Entail*, then (and not before) they acknowledged the *Kingdom to be turned about to Solomon*, because it was his from the Lord: And as *Adonijah* himself (being likewise made sensible of God's exercising his Peculiar *Prerogative* in that Case) readily submitted and waved his Claim to the Crown, there was, from that time, no other *Pretender* in view, and consequently no Colour, for any one to scruple the *Recognition of Solomon*, whom God himself had so unquestionably appointed and even *Named* to be their *King*, as before is demonstrated.

Nevertheless so far was that *Recognition* from being a *Sufficient* (or indeed any) *Title to the Crown*, much less a *Barr to the Primogeniture* (as that Learned *Scripture Politician* pretends) that the very Word *Recognition* necessarily supposes a *prior Right* inherent in the Person *Recognized*, and implies an Acknowledgment of that *prior Right*, not the giving of a *new* one: Besides, I *Appeal to the Consciences and Common Sense* of all Mankind, Whether any thing can be found more clear in the whole *Bible* than this, That the *People* looked upon it as their *indispensible Duty* to *Recognize the Right of the Eldest Son*, according to the known Laws: Till being made thoroughly sensible, that God had openly dispensed with his own Laws (*in that particular Case*) and declared himself in favour of *Solomon* by Name, and that, to make it the more notorious to them, *Adonijah* himself had also waived his *Pretention* to the Crown, the *People*, then having no room left to dispute the Title, readily *recognized* him whom the *Lord* had so expressly nominated, and to whom *Adonijah* himself had as expressly submitted.

Nor can I see what Colour of *Scripture* our *Author* has to insinuate, that God in this Translation, had re-  
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spect to *Personal Virtue, Goodness, and Desert* (a). He ventures indeed, with Assurance enough, tho' without Authority, to call *Solomon* the *better Son*, and *Adonijah* the *worse* : but he will have much ado to prove that, especially at the time when *God* revealed his Resolution to establish *Solomon* in the Throne, unless, as he did in the Case of *Esau* and *Jacob*, he will pretend to distinguish the *better* from the *worse*, before they were born, or were capable of doing either *good* or *evil* (b) ; which, with Submission, does not become him to judge of.

However, from this last Observation, we may see the Necessity of those Speeches which *David* and *Solomon* made in Maintainance of their *Divine Right* : That the People might perceive, by apparent Proofs, that the *Fundamental Laws of Nature* were not altered by them, without the express Revelation and Appointment of the *Lord* ; which alone supercedes all other Legal Qualifications, whatsoever. Upon which account (and no other) *Adonijah*, and all who had helped him to exalt himself against the *Lord's* express Ordinance, were guilty of *Usurpation* and *Treason*, and had thereby forfeited their *Lives* as well as *Employments*, to *Solomon's* Mercy.

And as *Adonijah* himself had a Pardon only upon Condition of future good Behaviour (and therefore lost his Life afterwards, as soon as the King judged the Condition broken ;) so *Abiathar* his Life was spared by King *Solomon*, for his former good Services to King *David*, but the *Priesthood* was taken from him and Restored to *Zadok*, that he might fulfil the Word of the *Lord*, which he spake concerning the House of *Eli* in *Shiloh* (c). However, tho' *Zadok* had not been (as indeed he was) of the *Elder Family* ; yet doubtless

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(a) *Script. Pol.* p. 12, 13, 29. (b) *Rom. ix.* 11. (c) *1 Sam.* ii. 35. & *1 Kin. ii.* 27.

doubtless it was a great Favour towards *Abiathar*, for the King to be content with accepting his forfeited Office only, when his Life was forfeited also, and that too for so notorious a Crime as that of *High-Treason*.

But before I leave this Case, I must take Notice of what Use is made thereof by certain popular Writers, among whom it is of late become a standing Argument for the supposed Right of the *Civil-Magistrates* to Deprive Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Persons from their Ecclesiastical Functions, or at least the entire Exercise thereof, upon meerly Civil or State Crimes. Thus an Eminent Modern before quoted calls it "so plain and so unexceptionable an Instance against the *Adversaries of Lay-Deprivations*, in this very Point of Deprivation, that he thinks their own Answers shew the Impossibility of getting clear of it". And to put the better Colour upon his Argument, he makes bold with the Word of God, and affirms that "*Solomon* deprived one of the Exercise of his Function, to which he had been appointed according to the Institution of God himself, and the same *Solomon* appointed another to succeed him". And upon this he flourishes, after his manner, and insultingly demands "What can be a more express Parallel than this, of the Supreme Civil Power depriving One Ecclesiastical Person, and putting in Another, upon the sole Consideration of the Interest of the State" (a)? Now as it is not my Business here to follow him out of my own Road, I shall not pursue him through his several Turns of Reasoning upon it, but stick close to the Facts, as I have them warranted by the *Holy Scriptures*: Wherein I find, that God had long before given to the

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(a) B. Bangor's *Preserv.* against the Nonjur. p. 43. Edit. 4.

the Family of Eleazar, the Covenant of an everlasting Priesthood (a), or (as it is worded in our old Translation) the Priest's Office for ever; whereas the Power and Authority of the High-Priesthood was to be removed from the Family of Ithamar, and they being reduced to great Distress and Poverty, should see their Honour and Office restored to another Line (b); all which was fulfilled by Solomon here, when he removed Abiathar of the House of Ithamar, and restored Zadok of the House of Eleazar. So that even supposing it to have been a Deprivation indeed, yet Solomon can't truly be said to have Deprived one that was appointed according to the Institution of God himself, and to have appointed another by virtue of the Supreme Civil Power, as that Writer affirms!

Neither was this done (as our Author tenderly words it) upon the sole Consideration of the Interest of the State: Nor yet by a Prince whose Right to the Throne was doubtful, and disputed; but by One whose Right was allowed by all Men to have been Divine and indisputable, and that too for no less a Crime than High-Treason, prov'd by manifest Overt-Acts, as before is noted.

But after all, this pretended Deprivation appears to have been no more than a Banishment from Jerusalem, and Confinement to his Fields at Anathoth (c), (which, by the way, belonged to him as Priest (d), not as his private Estate, and which therefore he had been incapable of enjoying, if he had been deprived of his sacerdotal Character): In Consequence whereof he was of Course incapable of Officiating, as before; the Functions of the Priesthood being confined to the Temple at Jerusalem, so that his Banishment

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(a) Numb. xxi. 13. (b) 1 Sam. ii. 31, &c. (c) 1 Kin. ii. 26. (d) Josh. xxi. 18.



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nishment from thence must necessarily detain him from the *Exercise* of his Office. But still he was no less qualified for it than before, in case he had been allowed to Return to the Temple: And we find him still acknowledg'd to be a *Priest*, notwithstanding this Sentence, in the same Rank too as he was before, even in the time of *David* (a); that is to say, that *Abiathar* was *Chief* or *High-Priest* of the *Second Sacerdotal Order* over the *Eight Families* of the House of *Itamar*, whereas *Zadok* was *Chief* or *Supreme Metropolitan* over the *Sixteen Families* of the House of *Eleazar*; But upon this Punishment of *Abiathar*, and his consequent Disability to execute the Office, *Zadok's* Jurisdiction was enlarged to the Extent of those *Eight Families* as well as the other sixteen, that is, over all the Sons of *Aaron* (b). With what Truth therefore this *Affertor* of *Lay Deprivations* can averr, that *Solomon* "by his own Authority, took away what he never gave, nay, what *Abiathar* had from God himself" (c); (by which he must mean his *Sacerdotal Character*, if his Meaning may ever be gathered from his Words), I leave to our Unprejudic'd Readers to judge!

I might here charge him with the Censure of a Convocation which has condemned it as a great Error (d), in any Man to affirm, "that the People had any Lawful Interest at any time --- either to chuse their *Priests*, or (they being appointed of God, as is aforesaid) to deprive them of their Places," &c. But because *Convocations* may seem to be of little or no Authority with him, I shall effectually shew the Absurdity of his Notions in this Case, by

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(a) — *iv. 4. 1 Chro. xxiv. 4.* (b) *Coll. Eccl. Hist. Vol. ii. Fol. 81.* (c) *Bang. ibid. p. 45.* (d) *Overal's Convoc. Book Lib. ii. Ca. xii.*

by confronting him with his Friend *Mr. Whiston*, and so leave them to reconcile it as they can. This Gentleman having stated the Case now before us, among those where Persons use their Authority somewhat out of their usual Sphere, concludes upon the whole, that "here is no Civil Deprivation of an Ecclesiastical Person, or secular Entrenchment on the Ecclesiastical Authority, but a just Execution of the Divine Decree, without any such Deprivation or Entrenchment at all." (a). And in his *Dedication* to that other Writer (taking Occasion to speak of the Lay-Deprivation of Arch-Bishop *Sanctroft* and diverse other Bishops of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and of all those of *Scotland*, soon after the late Revolution) he reflects upon all such Deprivations thus — "Depriving Bishops from the Exercise of their Spiritual Power, by a meer Secular Authority, for meer Secular Offences, seems to me almost as absurd as the pretended Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, to Deprive Secular Princes of their Secular Power for Ecclesiastical Offences. And those that are sensible of the great Usurpation and Wickedness of the latter, ought never to give any Encouragement to it, by justifying the former Procedure: Especially while the State has many other easy and unexceptionable Ways of Punishing Seditious or Rebellious Clergymen, and can therefore never be under any great Temptation to do what is, in it self, so perfectly Unjustifiable, upon the Foot of Scripture and Christianity; I say, perfectly Unjustifiable, upon those Foundations. For, as I have shewed in this Essay, that the Case of *Abiathar* deprived by *Solomon*, which is the only pretended Scripture Example, was of another Nature, and done upon

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(a) Script. Pol. p. 103.

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“ another Foundation; so is the old State of Christi-  
 “ anity known to be fully against such a Practice;  
 “ inasmuch that the greatest *Kindicators* of the  
 “ State at the Reformation and Revolution, have  
 “ not, I think, been able to produce one single Au-  
 “ thority for it, at least, not till such *late Centuries*,  
 “ as are of no value, when unsupported by earlier  
*Antiquity*” (a).

I need make no Apology for enlarging so much upon this Case, because it is matter of great Con-  
 troversy, with respect to the *Right of Kings*, and  
 the Doctrine of the *Independency of the Church upon*  
*the State*, as to its pure spiritual Powers. But to pro-  
 ceed in my Discourse.

After the Death of Solomon, the Original Law of  
*Hereditary Succession*, according to *Proximity of*  
*Blood*, came to be exactly observed in the King-  
 dom of Judah. For, in Obedience thereto, all  
 Israel came to Shechem to Rehoboam to make (b),  
 (or more properly recognize) him King, who was  
 Solomon's Son and Undoubted Heir. But here the Ten  
*Rebellious Tribes* under Pretence of *Grievances*, even  
 in Solomon's Reign, presume to Remonstrate against  
 them, and to insist upon Terms with their Lawful  
 King (as if Liberty and Property were things that a King  
 only could have no Pretence to!) which he, thro'  
 a *Judicial Infatuation* (for the Punishment of the Sins  
 of Solomon, as had been foretold by the Lord (c))  
 answering impolitickly, gave Occasion to those  
 Tribes to Revolt, as will be shewn hereafter. How-  
 ever, the *Loyal Tribes* of Judah and Benjamin (which  
 because their Possessions were intermixed are some-  
 times reckon'd as one) continued to be Faithful, and  
 bear true Allegiance to their King's Son.

But

(a) Whist. *ibid.* Dedic. p. x. (b) 1 Kin. xii. 1. 2 Chron. x. 1.  
 (c) 1 Kin. xi. 12.



But nevertheless, lest their Example should be of any Use to the *Advocates for Hereditary Right*, Mr. *Whiston* (whose Byas is always turn'd the other way) insinuates, that "his *Father's Favour*, his *Mother's Interest*, and his *own Behaviour*, some or all, procur'd him the General Good-Will of the *Two Tribes*; who went to *Shechem*, and there, in a *Solemn Assembly* made him their *King*" (a). Now, tho' the Drift of all this is apparently to support the Claim of popular Conventions in making Kings, yet I must take the Liberty to demand, From what other Motives than that of *True Loyalty*, the *Two Tribes* could reasonably be induced to adhere to their *King's Son and Heir*, when the other *Ten* rebelled against him? What *Scripture-Evidence* to prove, that his *Father's Favour*, his *Mother's Interest*, and his *own Behaviour*, should not be as much regarded in *Israel* as *Judah*? Did his *Father* ever express any extraordinary *Favour* for him? Or had his *Mother* any particular *Interest* after his *Father's* Death, to prevail with the *Two Tribes*, but not with the *Ten*? If so, we may expect to find the *Chapter and Verse*! As to his *own Behaviour*, 'tis plain, that was so very *Impolitick*, as well as *Unpopular*, that it could not possibly procure him any *Good Will*: But, instead thereof, if the *Two Tribes* had been given to *Change*, like the rest, and not of truly *Loyal Principles*, they would most probably have voted the *Throne vacant*, and placed another therein, by their own pretended *Authority*, as the other *Ten* did. But they, not regarding the *Rebellious Practices* of the rest, nor thinking greater Numbers any Argument in Matters of *Right and Duty*, proceeded by themselves to Recognize the *Natural Right* of their *Lawful King's Son* (even tho' they could promise themselves

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themselves nothing from his own Declaration to them but the most *Arbitrary Tyranny*), as all the *other Tribes* were ready too to have done, if they had not been acted by Principles of *Human Politicks*; rather than those of *Religion and Loyalty*; and how much the *Publick Good* was effected thereby, will be seen its proper Place.

In the mean time I shall proceed upon the *Succession* of those *Kings*, who reigned, according to the *Original Law* of *Hereditary Right* and *Proximity of Blood*, over the *Loyal Tribes* of *Judah* and *Benjamin*; who having been a *Race of Kings* (as is confess'd) by *Divine Appointment* (a), we may observe, that the *Preheminence* of the *Primogeniture* is admitted to be a *Divine Right*; (for 'tis plain, none of these *Kings* had any other Evidence of *God's Designation*, than that of their *Birth* or *Hereditary Right*, tho' one of this *Author's* Friends sticks not to call it *Blasphemy* (b).

But, before I come to the Particulars, I shall take Notice here, once for all, of a piece of Criticism, fitter indeed to be expos'd than seriously answer'd. *Mr. Whiston* (forgetful of the *Impartiality* he pretends to in his *Title Page*) when no other False Colours can be found to cast a Blot upon that hated Doctrine of *Hereditary Right*, takes upon him to *suppose*, (or *presume* rather) that wherever we meet with the *Mother's Name*, it is an Argument, that such Successor was not the *Eldest Son*, and *Heir by Descent*; by which Fallacy alone, he has disparag'd almost the whole Line of *Kings*, as well in *Judah*, as in *Israel*; but with how little Justice or Reason, I leave to the Reader to judge from this one Remark, That *Mr. Whiston* has unfortunately split upon a Rock, at his

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(a) *Bradbury's Son of Tabeal* 1708. (b) *Wh. Kennet* 25 Sept. 1715. p. 11.

his very first launching out. For even *Rehoboam* himself, the first of all those in the Kingdom of *Judah*, has his *Mother's Name* recorded with him (and that too twice in one Chapter (a), which is more than we usually meet with in the rest): and yet *Mr. Whiston* himself owns, that he "succeeded *Solomon*, as it were of Course, that is, no one else "seems to have stood his Competitor, he probably "being the *Eldest*, if not the *Only Son* (b)." Which plainly demonstrates the Absurdity of that his own peculiar Observation! And therefore I shall take no further Notice of it.

As *Solomon* was succeeded by *Rehoboam* his Son and Heir, so was *Rehoboam* succeeded by *Abijah* (or *Abijam*) his Son and Heir (c). For, tho' tis true, we read, that *Rehoboam* had three Sons by his former Wives (d), and consequently that he was not the *Eldest* at the time that his Father made him Chief, to be Ruler over his Brethren; and tho' his Father thought also to make him King (e), (which is indeed an Evidence of a partial Favour for him) during their Lives; yet it does by no means follow, that *Abijah* was not the *Eldest Survivor* at the time of his Father's Death, and his own Succession to the Throne. On the contrary, it no where appears, that they, or any one of them was living at that time. For if there had been any *Elder* surviving, it is not to be doubted but we should have heard something of his *Pre-tension*; of which as there is not the least Hint upon Record, we may safely conclude, that they were all dead before their Father, and that *Abijam* was his Heir and Lawful Successor, by due Course of Inheritance. And the rather for that we have a Prece-

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(a) 1 Kin. xiv. 21, 31. 2 Chron. xii. 13. (b) Script. Polit.

p. 24. (c) 1 Kin. xiv. 31. 2 Chron. xii. 16. (d) 2 Kin. 19.

(e) ——— xiv. 21. 2 Chron. xii. 13.



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dent for it in the same *Holy Writings*; wherein we find, that *Adonijah* had once had *three Elder Brethren* too (a), one of whom, for ought that appears to the contrary, might have survived his *Father*; and yet, because there is no mention of him, or his *Pretensions*, but *Adonijah* is the next who puts in his *Claim* to the *Inheritance*, 'tis therefore reasonably presum'd by all Men, that all the *Elder* were dead, tho' that is not recorded; and *Adonijah* is universally esteem'd to have been the Eldest surviving Son of *David*, at that Demise of the Crown. Thus it is justly argued, that since we read, that *Amnon* was murder'd, and *Absalom* slain in Battle, " we " may reasonably presume, that *Daniel* or *Chileab*, as " he is elsewhere called, died a Natural Death before his Father. For there appears no Reason, " why *Adonijah* should speak as he does, (1 *Kings* ii. " 85.) but his *Priority of Birth*, or, in the Modern " Language, his *Hereditary Right*, as Eldest Branch " of the Royal Family (b). " For as, in that Case, *Adonijah* asserted his own immediate Right, before the Mother of *Solomon* (as before is at large set forth), so, in this, *Abijah* asserts his to the whole *Inheritance*, in as strong Terms as is possible, even to the Face of him who had *Usurped* the greatest Part thereof, and before all his Army (which I shall have Occasion to mention hereafter, in the Case of *Jeroboam*, and to which I shall therefore refer my Reader from this Place). And besides, there is not the least Appearance of any other *Pretender*, claiming by any prior Right, but *Abijah* succeeded peaceably, without any Opposition (as Mr. *Whiston* confesses (c)), which is the very Argument that prevails with him to admit *Rehoboam* to have been the

*Next*

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(a) 2 Sam. iii. 3. (b) J. Archer's *Serm.* at Tunbridge-  
Wells, Aug. 8. 1714. p. 6. (c) *Script. Polit.* p. 34.

Next Heir, because, says he, no one else seems to have stood his Competitor; Which, if it be a good Argument in one Case, is surely as good in another. Nay, further, there seems to be something worth our Notice, in the very Phrase, which is objected. For it is not said, That Rehoboam made, or resolved to make, but it is hinted only, as an Indigested Thought of a rash Prince, that he thought (or had some Thoughts, as we say) to make him King: Nor does Abijah's succeeding to the Crown afterwards, prove, in the least, that he obtain'd it only in Consequence of that Thought, but, for ought that can be prov'd to the contrary, as his Right by Survivorship. Much less can we argue (as Mr. Whiston does) because his Father made him Ruler among his Brethren, in his own Lifetime, that therefore he broke through the Right of Primogeniture (a); for I know no Law, that hinders a Sovereign Prince, from constituting his own Inferiour Magistrates, without Regard to Age or Family, tho' he may not indeed do so, in appointing his Successors in the Throne.

But will it not put Abijah's Hereditary Right out of all Dispute, if we observe, in the Royal Pedigree recorded by St. Matthew, that our Blessed Saviour's Title to the Sceptre of the Jews, is derived through Abijah, (as well as the rest of that Royal Line, herein set forth)? For if Christ's being the Messiah depends upon his being the Son of David and King of the Jews, (as without Question it does) then how can we make a Doubt of the Right of Abijah (or any of the rest in that Pedigree) without raising a strong Objection against that of our Blessed Saviour himself also?

Abijah being thus proved a Lawful King, pass we on to Asa, his Son and Heir, who succeeded him;

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(a) Script. Polit. p. 34.

him (a); and who was himself succeeded by Jehosphat his Son and Heir (b); and Jehosphat by Jehoram his Son and Heir (whose Right of Succession to the Kingdom is particularly recorded because he was the First-born (c)); and Jehoram by Ahaziah his Son and Heir (d), without the least Interruption. For, though we read, that he was then the Youngest Son of Jehoram, yet it follows, that he came not to the Crown, till the Band of Men that came with the Arabians to the Camp, had slain all the Eldest (e); so that he was then the Eldest Surviving, and consequently Heir at Law. Which is a manifest Judication that the Ordinary Rule of Succession was Hereditary according to Primogeniture.

Nevertheless here Mr. Whiston gives it another Wrest, in favour of the Popular Scheme, though, one would think, nothing can be more express to the contrary. He says, "The Inhabitants of Jerusalem made Ahaziah King, being deprived of any other Choice among the Sons of Jehoram". And proceeds to make this Observation from it, "Here we see, who they were, that usually made or recognized Kings in Judah; even the People of the Land, or, in this particular Case, where there was no Choice in the Royal Family, the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Capital City alone" (f). But, with Mr. Whiston's good Leave, the giving us the Reason of the Youngest Son's succeeding his Father (because all the Elder were dead) plainly intimates, that he could not have been capable of it, if any of the Elder had been left alive: And, notwithstanding what he infers from the Inhabitants of Jerusalem making or recognizing

Kings,

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(a) 1 Kin. xv. 1. 2 Chro. xiv. 1. (b) 1 Kin. xv. 24. 2 Chro. xvii. 8. (c) 1 Kin. xxii. 50. 2 Chro. xxi. 3. (d) 2 Kin. viii. 24. (e) 2 Chro. xxii. 1. (f) Script. Pol. p. 42.



Kings, all that they did, or could do, was no more, than is done, in our own *Hereditary Kingdom*, upon every Demise of the Crown, where the *Privy Counsellors*, and the *Magistrates of the City of London*, together with such others of the *Nobility, Gentry, and Inhabitants*, as are at Hand, make a Solemn Proclamation and Declaration of the *Natural Right* of the *Next Heir*; Not thereby making him King, but recognizing, that he had the *Right Inherent in him*, by the *Laws of God and Nature*, and the *Fundamental Laws of the Land*; though our *Scripture Politician* does not distinguish, between *Making* and *Recognizing* of Kings! Nay, and that very Phrase too, which Mr. *Whiston* takes his Objection from, the *People's making him King*, is honestly explained even by *Grotius* himself (who was far from being an Enemy to the just Rights of the *People*): who interprets this Action of the *People*, to be no more than barely their placing him in the *Throne* (as they did also afterwards in the Case of *Joash* his Son (a), which was his *Right* (viz. by Birth) whether the *People* had given their *Vote or Suffrage* or not. His own Words are — “*In Solio locarunt — nam regnum jure ipsi debebatur, sine ullis Populi Suffragiis*” (b).

Hitherto the Succession had been Regular and uninterrupted, in the Kingdom of *Judah*. But no sooner was *Ahaziah* dead, than his Mother *Ataliah* (the Daughter of the wicked *Ahab*, the Son of *Omri*, King of *Israel*) Usurped the *Hereditary Throne*, and endeavoured to make herself a *Thorough Settlement*, by destroying all the *Seed Royal* except one who was hid from her (c). And now, what was wanting to make her a *Lawful Sovereign* that can be

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(a) 2 *Chro.* xxiii. 20. (b) *Grot.* in 2 *Chron.* xxii. 1. (c) 2 *Chro.* x. 1. 2 *Chron.* xxii. 10.

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be pleaded by any other Usurper? 'Tis plain, she wanted nothing but the Hereditary Right: For she had a full Possession of six Years, the Providence (as they call it) of Success, and the People's Submission, and no other Pretender in view, to interrupt her: And yet as " God loves " to shew himself, and in an eminent manner to " take part with Right and Justice against those " mighty Oppressors of the Earth, who, like an " overflowing Flood, would bear down all before " them " (a), so, in this Case, when she least dreamed of it, Joash, the Right Heir by Birth (who had been miraculously preserved indeed by Providence) was unexpectedly produced, and restored, and the Usurper justly destroyed; And then (notwithstanding their forced Submission to her during her Possession of the Power) all the People of the Land rejoiced, and the City was quiet, after that they had slain Athaliah (the Usurper) with the Sword (b)!

Here we have a clear Light, whereby to distinguish the publick Good, from all specious Pretences. For we cannot doubt, but this Usurper would (as all others usually do) blind the People's Eyes, with plausible Professions, and Declarations, how much the publick Good would be advanced by her filling the Throne, and particularly, how much it would be better for them to have a Person of Age and Experience, than a Child to be their Prince, and a Babe to rule over them (c): And yet we find, that the publick Good and Tranquillity was not truly obtained in this Case, till the Pert-Natural-born Heir, tho' a tender Infant, was restored to his Right, even at the Expence of the Usurper's Life, and those of her Adherents.

And

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(a) Tillotf. Serm. Apr. 16. 1690. p. 29. (b) 2 Kin. xi.  
20. 2 Chro. xxiii. 23. (c) Isai. iii. 4.

And further, it is well worthy of Observation, that, notwithstanding Mr. *Whiston* affects to call every Thing a *King* or *Queen* (a) which, right or wrong, can get a Crown upon its Head: Yet the *Holy Ghost* (by whose Inspiration these sacred Books were written) never once gives *Athalia* the Title of *Queen*, though she was in Possession, but appropriates the Royal Titles to the *Rightful King*, tho' out of Possession; calling *Joash* *King* no less than five several times, even before his Restoration (whereby 'tis manifest, the *Holy Ghost* grounded his Title upon his Proximity of Blood only). And yet, when the *Usurper* saw the *King* standing in his place in the Temple, she could have the Assurance to pervert the Meaning of Words, crying out *Treason! Treason* (b)! (or, as it is in the *Septuagint*, *A Plot! A Plot!*) though in Truth, she her self was the greatest *Traytor*.

For, it is truly observed, by a *Divine* before quoted, that "after God had once settled the Succession of the Crown of *Israel*, in *King David's* Family, and particularly on *King Solomon's* Issue by *Primogeniture*, it was *High Treason* for any to put by the *Lawful Heir* and Successor, although the said *Heir* was an *Idolater*, and never so bad, as to either *Faith* or *Manners* (b). For the better Proof whereof, he quotes that Interrogation of *Elihu* to *Job*; *Shall even he that hateth Right govern? &c.* Where the Point of Interrogation is altogether *Affirmative*, and implies, that he that hateth *Right*, shall and ought, however, to govern, when he has a *Lawful Title* so to do; and may not be excluded or deposed under that Pretence of his want of *Grace*. Nay, and 'tis declared even by the *Kirk of Scotland*, and their Friends in *England*

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(a) *Script. Pol.* 97. 103. (b) 2 *Kin.* xi. 14. 2 *Chro.* xiii. 13.  
(c) *Jenner ubi. Supr.* p. 39.



land in their Confession of Faith, " That no Difference  
" in Religion, or even Infidelity, does take away  
" the Right of the King " (a).

Nor is it less remarkable, that, when Command  
was given to kill the Usurper and her Adherents,  
none were slain with her, but only Mattan,  
the Priest of Baal (b). From whence we may  
judge of the constant and inseparable Correspondence  
there is between Usurpation and False  
(or Immoral Worship; whereas no sooner was the  
Right Here Restored, but the True Religion was  
also Restored, and protected by him.

Before I leave this Case, it might be proper to  
take particular Notice of the Conduct of Jehoiada,  
the High-Priest: Because from the part that he  
bore, in the Deposition of Athaliah, and the Resto-  
ration of Joash, some pretence has been taken (by  
certain Weak, or, Factionous Papists) to favour the  
Pope's having a Power to Depose Princes: But with  
how little Reason will easily appear. For it has  
been already shewn, That Athaliah was not a  
Queen but a meer Usurper; And therefore, to  
argue from her Case, to that of a Lawful Prince, is  
absurd and ridiculous. Besides, it is plain, that  
what Jehoiada did, was not by virtue of any Eccle-  
siastical Authority: For he was not only (in right  
of his Wife) the Prochein Amies (as the Lawyers  
call it) or next of Kin, to the Royal Infant but, by  
the Special Providence of God (which is most con-  
spicuous in the Protection and Preservation of Law-  
ful Princes) was also become the Guardian and Pro-  
tector of his sacred Person (c), Nor did he do any  
thing, till he had first strengthened himself, by  
gaining to his Party such of the Captains, of the  
Levites,

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(a.) Cap. 23. (b.) 2 Kin. xi. 18. 2 Chr. xxiii. 17. 2 Kin. xi.  
2. Q. Chr. xxii. 11.

*Levites, and the Fathers of Israel (a) as he thought fit, for his Assistance. Neither did he any more, than what every private Subject lawfully might and ought to do: And for this he produced a very good Warrant from the Word of God, Behold (says he) the King's Son shall reign, as the Lord hath said of the Sons of David (b), which is admitted to have been a Divine Entail (c). From which alone (if we had nothing else to the same purpose) we may perceive that it was the want of this Divine Hereditary Right which made Athaliah an Usurper; and not that of the Choice of the People; (as Mr. Whiston insinuates) (d). Nor indeed can we reasonably suppose, that she had not the Choice of the People (or at least some thing that often passes for their Consent) since she was able to maintain herself in the Throne so many Years, and the King had no Sanctuary left but the Temple of the Lord: However, as that was a Place of the greatest Security to the Lord's Vicegerent, so the High Priest was the only Person qualified to have the Care of him there; and consequently the only one who could Restore him to his Longing Subjects. In short, so far is this Case from serving the Pope's Turn, or making good his Pretensions, that (as some Moderate Papists themselves confess) "it proveth nothing, but that it is Lawful for a State or Common-Wealth to Depose an Usurper and Restore the true Heir to his Right; and not that he had any Authority to Depose any Lawful Prince, were he otherwise never so exorbitant in Life, Manners and Belief, or cruel in his Government" (e).*

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(a) 2 Chron. xxiii. 1, 2. (b) — 3. 2 Sam. vii. 12 1 Kin. ii. 4. — ix. 5. 2 Chron. vi. 16. — vii. 18. (c) Sherl. Case of Alleg. p. 35. (d) Script. Pol. p. 43. (e) Warmington's Moderate Def. of the Oath of Alleg. p. 13.

By this Restoration of Joash was the Hereditary Succession turn'd again into its right Course. And tho' it was soon after interrupted by a new Conspiracy of some of his *Rebellious Subjects*, who successively slew him (a), and his Son *Amaziah* (b): Yet, in neither Case, tho' the Father was slain, were even those *Rebels* and *Parricides* hardy enough to Justify that *Regicide*, much less to attempt the Exclusion of the *Right Heir* from his Inheritance; but, as Joash was regularly succeeded by *Amaziah* his Son and Heir, so was *Amaziah* by *Uzziah* (or *Azariah*) his Son and Heir, and He by *Jotham* his Son and Heir (c).

Here again our *Impartial Scripture Politician* (who catches at every Occasion to disparage the Right of Proximity of Blood) triumphs at the Expression of the People's making *Azariah* King, (d) &c. Here (says he) "it is very plain, that it was not any *Indefeasible Right of Primogeniture*, but the Unanimous Choice or Recognition of the People that made him King" (e). For which, nevertheless, he has no other Warrant, but the vulgar Phrase in the Translation: And that is not to be understood of the People's giving a *Right of Government* to the King; but only that they put Him in actual Possession of the Regal Power, to whom it belonged by *Right of Primogeniture* (as I have observed above) and paid their *Homage* and *Allegiance* to him accordingly.

Before I proceed, I must stop to consider the Force of their Argument, who would make *Uzziah's* Case a Precedent for the *People's* Deposing Princes. 'Tis true, he was a *Lawful King*;

(a) 2 Kin. xii. 25. — xiv. 19. (b) 2 Chro. xxiv. 25. —  
xxiv. 27. (c) 2 Kin. xii. 21. — xiv. 21. — xv. 7. 2 Chro.  
xxiv. 27. — xxvi. 1. — 23. (d) 2 Kin. xiv. 24. 2 Chro.  
xxvi. 1. (e) Script. Polit. p. 45.



King; and the Record says, when he went into the Temple of the Lord to burn Incense — the Priests withstood him (a). But if we consider, that Uzziah's Invading and Intruding himself into the High-Priest's Office, was Death by the Law of God (b), surely we shall find Reason to think, that the Behaviour of the Priests was very Dutiful, to Expostulate with him (as they did) concerning his great Offence, in order only to prevent their Sovereign from committing a deadly Sin: For they did not presume to offer him any Violence, but left him to the Chastisement of God Almighty (whom they knew to be, as we also do every Day acknowledge him, the only Ruler of Princes); who thereupon punished his Presumption with the Plague of Leprosy. Then indeed, we read that they thrust him out: But we are told, at the same time, that himself hastened also to go out because the Lord had Smitten him; which plainly shews, that there was, even then, no Violence offer'd him. Neither was he ever Deposed from his Sovereignty (as some would insinuate): But, being a Leper unto the Day of his Death, he was thereby incapable of any Business, and obliged to dwell alone (c); and therefore, Jotham his Son was over the King's House, judging the People of the Land (d), not as King, but as the King's Vicegerent only, during his Father's Life. And this, by the way, affords us a very good Remark, what is to be done, in case of a King's being a Lunatick, an Idiot, or under any other personal Incapacity to answer the Ends of Government, viz. that the Next in Blood that is Capable, ought to govern, tho' not in his own Name, but in the Name of the King, and by his Authority, as Jotham did, during his

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Father's

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(a) 2 Chro. xxvi. 16. (b) Exod. xxx. 7. Numb. xxiii. 7.  
(c) Levit. xiii. 46. (d) 2 Chro. xxvi. 21.

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Father's Leprosy : For 'twas after *Uzziah's* Death, and not before, that *Jotham*, his Son, reigned in his Stead (a) : And he was succeeded by *Ahaz*, his Son and Heir ; and he, by *Hezekiah* his Son and Heir ; and he, by *Manasseh* his Son and Heir ; and he, by *Amon* his Son and Heir (b) ; against whose respective Hereditary Right, even *Mr. Whiston* himself can make no Objection, except that extraordinary one, concerning their Mother's Name (c) (before sufficiently exposed) ; under colour whereof alone, he has ventured to disparage all or most of them, contrary to Scripture, Reason, and (for ought I can yet see) Common Sense ! But in the Case of *Manasseh*, I own, he makes a very pertinent and useful Observation. For indeed, " it will here deserve our Attention, that during the " time of *Manasseh's* Captivity at *Babylon*, the " Nation did not (vote the Throne Vacant and) " set up another King : But owned him for their " King all the while, notwithstanding such his " Absence and Imprisonment ; and when he was " brought again to *Jerusalem*, he thereby was brought " again (d) (that is Restored), to his Kingdom also, " without any new Difficulty " (e). To which I shall take leave to add another to the same purpose : And that is, That after *Nebuchadnezzar's* having been in a State of Madness (or, as it is called in the Scripture, driven to dwell with the Beasts of the Field) for seven Years ; no sooner did his Reason return to him, but his Lords and his Counsellors sought unto him, and he was Established in (that is Restored to) his Kingdom (f) ; the Line of Succession

(a) 2 Chro. xxvi. 23. (b) 2 Kin xv. 38. — xxvi. 20. — xx. 21. — xxi. 18. 2 Chro. xxvii. 9. — xxviii. 27. — xxxii. 33. — xxxiii. 20. (c) Script. Pol. p. 20. (d) Ibid. p. 46. (e) 2 Chro. xxxiii. 13. (f) Dan. iv. 36.

son having not been broke, nor the People discharged from their Allegiance on that Account. And it is farther remarkable, that *the Lord*, in whose *Hand the Hearts of Kings are*, and who *turneth them whithersoever he will* (a), was pleased to change both these *Princes*, from wicked and Cruel ones, to become truly Penitent.

But I must also observe, that these two Cases do flatly contradict another Remark of our *Scripture Politician*, where, speaking of the Duty of Subjects to their *Lawful Kings*, he accounts them bound to bear *patiently the Hardships they endure, till it please God, by their Death or otherwise, to deliver them*. "I say, by *Death or otherwise* (says he): for we " may observe, that any *other Method of Providence* which removes such a *Tyrant or Oppressor* " from the Government over us, does also deliver us " from our Obligation to Obedience to him; there " being in all the Bible, I think, no Obedience " ever required to any other Prince or Power, " than that which actually has Dominion over " Men" (b). Now I would ask *Mr. Whiston*, whether he does not look upon *Manasseh* and *Nebuchadnezzar* to have been *otherwise removed by Providence from the Government* over their respective Subjects, before they were finally removed by *Death*? And, if so, whether, during such *other Removal*, their Subjects were *delivered from their Obligation of Obedience to them*? And whether, upon such supposed *Deliverance*, any other Object of *Allegiance*, was applied unto, and placed in the *Vacant Throne*? But since nothing of this can be pretended (nay himself has observed the contrary, as above) I shall proceed to *Amon* the Son of *Manasseh*, whom certain of his *Rebellious Servants* conspired against and slew; yet, neither, in this Case, was the *Right* of

(a) *Prov. xxi. 1.*

(b) *Script. Pol. p. 58.*



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of Succession, by Proximity of Blood, defeated: But the People of the Land (well sensible both of the Heinousness of that Treason and Regicide, and of their indispensable Duty in such a Case) slew all them that had conspired against King Amon; And the People of the Land made (or rather Recognized) Josiah his Son King in his stead (c). And he, being then but a Child (f), his Case affords us this useful Observation, that the People, even in those Troublesome Times, never thought of breaking through the Law of God and Nature, under any Pretence of the Publick Good, but readily admitted the next Natural Heir (tho' a tender Infant), and moreover the Son of a wicked and Idolatrous Father, to his Father's Hereditary Throne, according to their Natural Allegiance. For which their Loyalty, they were sufficiently rewarded, by God Almighty, who made that Infant such a Blessing to his People, that like unto him was there no King before him, that turned to the Lord, with all his Heart, and with all his Soul, and with all his Might, according to all the Law of Moses, neither after him arose there any like him (c); and his Reign was prolonged, for the Publick Good indeed, to Thirty and One Years (d). So that these Loyal Jews preserved their Loyalty and Allegiance for the Publick Good; whereas they who renounce their Natural Allegiance, under Colour of the Publick Good, very often find themselves disappointed, and instead thereof are the Cause of their Country's Ruin!

One Instance whereof (tho' every Reader may easily recollect others) follows immediately upon the Death of this Good Josiah. For the People of the Land took Jehohaz, the Son of Josiah, and anointed him,

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(a) *2 Kin. xxi. 24. 2 Chro. xxxiii. 25.* (b) *2 Kin. xxii. 1. 2 Chro. xxxiv. 1.* (c) *2 Kin. xxiii. 25.* (d) *2 Kin. xxii. 1. 2 Chro. xxxiv. 1.*

him, and made him King in his Father's stead (a): by the Comparison of whose Age, with that of his Brother *Eliakim* (b), we shall find *Eliakim* to have been "the Elder Brother to *Jehoahaz*, and consequently the Right Heir to the Crown: But he being injuriously refused, the Younger was set up; and "it succeeded accordingly (c)." However this is the less strange, if we consider either the Natural Result of Popular Conventions (which generally begin in Irregularity, and end in Confusion), or the Condition of their Affairs at that time. For, as, in *Josiah's* Days) there were great Wars betwixt the Kings of *Egypt* and *Assyria* (the two constant Enemies, and Rival-Neighbours of the Jews) so, being in fast Friendship with the Latter, he was of course liable to be evil-treated by the Former. And of this he was so sensible, That no sooner did the *Egyptian* draw his Sword against the *Assyrian*, than *Josiah* made Head against him; in which Quarrel he was slain (d). After whose Death (the *Assyrian* being still their Ally) they, for the Publick Good (as probably, in those Circumstances, it might appear to them) venturing to break through all Laws and Rights, in a Case of Necessity, and forgetting the old Maxim, *Nihil Utile, nisi quod sit Honestum*, preferr'd the Younger Brother (who was of their Faction, and so the more fit for their Turn) before the Elder. But, alas! such were the Miseries, instead of Benefits, ensuing upon that Fatal Revolution, That, that very Breach in the Constitution, not only administred sufficient Cause of Dissentions among themselves, but also gave the *Assyrian* a good Handle for a fresh Invasion; which he taking hold of,

Deposed

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(a) 2 Kin. xxiii. 30. 2 Chro. xxxvi. 1: (b) 2 Kin. xxiii. 31, 36. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 2, 5: (c) Mayer in loco. (d) 2 Kin. xxiii. 20. 2 Chr. xxxv. 20.

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*Deposed the Usurper, and Restored the Right Heir to his Father's Throne.* Where it is observable, That, as often, as the People went about to secure themselves by subtle Devices and Contrivances of their own, in Breach of the Laws of *God* and *Nature*, "so often they were foiled and baffled, and overcome by their Enemies: But when they put their Trust in *God*, and committed themselves to his Protection, he preserv'd and deliver'd them from the greatest Dangers (a)." Thus here we read, *That Pharaoh Nechoh made Eliakim, the Son of Josiah, King, in the room of Josiah his Father (b):* which is the more remarkable (in Favour of the *Primogeniture*) because, tho' *Jeboahaz* had been some time in Possession of the Throne, yet, neither is there the least Record of any of his *Acts*, nor even so much as the bare mention of him as *King*; but his pretenced Reign stands as it were, in a *Parenthesis*, and his *Elder Brother*, the *King de Jure*, is recorded *King* immediately from their *Father's Death*.

Thus was the *Hereditary Succession* regularly maintained in the Kingdom of *Judah*, according to the *Divine Right of Primogeniture*: till *Nebuchadnezzar*, coming up, put the Kingdom under a *Tribute*, and afterwards, returning, carried all together into *Captivity to Babylon (c)*.

'Tis true indeed, it pleased *God* to restore these two Loyal Tribes to their own Country again; but still, as they were even then under a kind of *Vassalage* to the Neighbouring Potentates, and therefore not capable of enjoying the Rights of a Free and Independant Government, I shall take no further Notice of them.

Nor

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(a) *Stillingsf. Sermon. Nov. 13. 1678. p. 30.* (b) 2 *Kin. xxiii*  
34.



Nor will it seem strange, that the Succession in the Kingdom of *Israel* was not as regular too, as that of *Judah*, to any, who will but observe the Foundation of that Government.

'Tis true, there is a *Colour* of a *Divine Right* in the Establishment thereof. For we read, That, when the Lord was angry with Solomon, he said unto him, *I will surely rend the Kingdom from thee, and will give it to thy Servant (a)*: And again, to *Jeroboam* himself, by the Mouth of the Prophet *Abijah*, Behold, *I will rend the Kingdom out of the Hand of Solomon, and will give Ten Tribes to thee;—and I will take thee, and thou shalt reign according to all that thy Soul desireth, and shalt be King over Israel (b)*. Yet, nevertheless, it is to be observ'd, that all this is no more than a *Prophetical Declaration* of what God would suffer to befall the House of *Solomon* for their Sins. For we find no *Anointing*, nor any other Evidence or Token of a *Divine Commission* ever given to *Jeroboam*, as had been given before to *Saul* and *David*: But the People sent and called him out of *Egypt*; and when they had got such a popular Man at their Head, they had the Insolence to offer Terms of a *Conditional Obedience* to their *Natural Sovereign*, or to make a *Claim of Right*, as one presumes to call it (c). And here indeed we see the *Hand of God*, That he caused *Rehoboam*, to prefer the pernicious Advice of his Young Men, to the sage Counsel of his Father's grave Counsellors; For (thus far) the Cause was from the Lord (d), who, infatuating *Rehoboam*, made him contribute to his own Chastisement. And besides, that Promise of the Lord (if such it may be esteemed) to *Jeroboam*, was but *Conditional*---if thou wilt hearken unto all that I command thee, and wilt walk in my Ways (e), &c.

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which

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(a) 1 Kin. xi. 11. (b) ——— 31, 7. (c) Bradb. Son of Tabeal. (d) 1 Kin. xii. 15. 2 Chr. x. 15. (e) 1 Kin. xi. 38.

which Condition he was the furthest from performing on his part; so that he could found no *Divine Right* upon such Expressions, whatever they were. Neither is it enough to give him a Title to what he could get, or to excuse him from the Guilt of *Treason*, that he was the *Executor of God's Decrees* against his *Lawful Sovereign*. For, if so, *Absalom* had as fair a Pretence to it, according to *Divine Prediction*, where God uses the very same Phrase, saying to *David* *I will raise up Evil against thee, out of thine own House, and I will take thy Wives before thine Eyes and give them unto thy Neighbour, and he shall lie with thy Wives in the Sight of the Sun* (a). And no less plausible was that of *Zimri*, who is recorded to have destroyed all the House of *Baasha*, according to the Word of the Lord, which he spake against *Baasha*, by *Jehu the Prophet* (b). Such also was the Case of *Shallum's* killing *Zachariah*, according to the Word of the Lord (c). And yet he must have unwarrantable Assurance, who shall pretend from thence, that either *Absalom*, *Zimri*, or *Shallum*, had any *Divine Right* to do as they did, or that they were any other than *Sturdy Rebels*.

And it is very well worthy of our Remark, in Relation to the *Publick Good* of such *Revolutions*, That *God Almighty*, in punishing *Irregular Princes* commonly makes use of the greatest *Tyrants*, and most hardened *Sinners*, to be the *Firebrands of his Wrath*, that by means of their *Cruelty* and want of *Clemency*, his People might the sooner be reduced to a due Sense of *Religion* and *Loyalty*; which are inseparable Companions. Thus he suffered certain of the worst of the *Heathen Nations* to remain among his People, in the Land of Promise

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(a) 2 Sam. xvi. 11. (b) 1 Kin. xvi. 12. (c) 2 King xv. 12.

Promise, as Thorns in their Sides, that through them he might prove his People Israel (a): Thus David, for his Sins, was punished by his most Undutiful, Unnatural, and Rebellious Son (b): Thus the Idolatrous House of Ahab was destroyed and rooted out by Jehu an Idolater, and Hazael, a Monster of Men; both of them expressly raised up for that purpose (c): And the Sins of Solomon here were punished by Jeroboam, whose peculiar Characteristic it is, that himself did Sin, and made Israel to Sin (d).

Such, and none other, was the Foundation of his Government. For Jeroboam himself, though he was indeed the Instrument of God's Vengeance against the House of Solomon, for their Idolatry and other Sins (e), yet, because he and his Party did not regard the Will of the Lord in their Revolt but their own mutinous Will and Humour: therefore are they Condemned by the Lord, for having set up Kings, but not by him, Princes and he knew it not (f); so that the Voice of the People was not the Voice of God! And so is that Revolution called a Rebellion, and consequently is not to be drawn into Precedent.

Neither is it strange, that he should break through the Laws of Succession, who, in the framing of his New-Government, forsook the very Fundamental Laws of Religion, and fell away from the Lord, to the Worship of Idols! For, after he had rent the Kingdom from the House of David, he found it Necessary, for the better supporting himself therein, to make a Schism in the Church too. And, for this he found a Precedent in the Altar

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(a) Judg. ii. 3, — 22. (b) 2 Sam. xii. 9. — xv. 13. (c) 2 Kin. x. 29. — viii. 12. 1 Kin. xix. 15. (d) — xiv. 16, &c. (e) 1 Kin. xi. 11. (f) Hof. viii. 4. (g) 1 Kin. xii. 19. 2 Chro. x. 18. — xiii. 6.



*Altar*, which *Aaron* (through an inexcusable Weakness) had erected to his *Molten Calf* in the Wilderness: Not considering, how much the Lord was provoked to Anger thereby, and what an *Atonement* (a) was made, before *Aaron*, and his *Adherents*, could be cleared from the *Malady* and *Contagion* of that *Schism*.

Thus we see the *Frailties* and *Infirmities* of Good Men, are oftentimes sought out, to justify, or excuse the *Impieties* and *Immoralities* of Wicked Ones; though 'tis most certain, that Ten Thousand *Precedents* are not Sufficient to legitimate one Act which is either Unlawful in it self, or expressly prohibited by the Law of God. Accordingly *Jeroboam*, knowing, that true Religion is no Friend to an Unjust Title, made two *Calves* for the People to Worship; saying *Behold thy Gods O Israel, which brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt* (b). And for this he pretended the *Publick Good*, and the *Benefit*, as well as *Ease*, which would arise to the People, by a *Toleration* or *Indulgence* in respect of the *Uniform Worship* established in the Temple of the Lord: *It is too much for you* (said he) *to go up to Jerusalem* — ! Whereas, in truth, his only Aim was his own *Private Interest*. For (whatever he declared with his Lips) he said in his Heart, now shall the Kingdom return to the House of David: If these People go up to Sacrifice in the House of the Lord, at Jerusalem, then shall the Heart of this People turn again unto their Lord, even unto Rehoboam, King of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam, King of Judah, (c). So conscious was *Jeroboam* himself of his *Usurpation*, that he could not but, in his own Heart, confess the Right of Rehoboam

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(a) *Exod. xxii. — Deut. ix. — 1 Kin. xii. 26.* (b) *1 Kin. xii. 28.* (c)

boam (that he was their Lord still, notwithstanding himself was in Possession of the Kingdom of Israel, with the full Consent of the People thereof) and the Capital Punishment which himself deserved and might justly expect (to be killed) for his Rebellion and Usurpation; A plain Evidence this, that Zehoboam had not lost his Title to the Ten Tribes by that Revolution; and that Possession and the People's Consent and Recognition is no Sufficient Title to a Throne, in such Hereditary Countrys, especially (as Mr. Whiston Suggests) in Barr to Primogeniture (a)!

He knew he had no Reason to trust in God, to establish him, in what ('tis plain) he was only permitted to possess. And therefore, he contrived to make New Gods! and a New Worship! which should save the People the Trouble of going up to serve God, (according to his own Command) at Jerusalem, and consecrated Priests, suitable thereto, of the Lowest of the People (b), (as most fit to serve his Turn); well knowing, that, to keep his People in Forgetfulness and Ignorance of the True God, was the most likely way to keep them from recovering a Sense of their Natural Allegiance to their Lawful King! which verifies the Observation of a Learned Divine, that "whatever the Pretences are, how fair and popular soever, in the Opposition Men make to Authority, Ambition and private Discontents are the true Beginners of them: But these must be covered over with the deepest Dissimulation, with most vehement Protestations to the contrary; nothing must be talked of, but a mighty Zeal for Religion and the Publick Interest. — But if Fair Pretences, and Glorious Titles will serve to cheat the People into their own Miseries, and the

(a) Script. Pol. p. 20.

(b) 1 Kin. xii. 13.

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“ the sad Effects of *Rebellion*, they shall never want  
 “ those who will *enslave* them for the sake of  
 “ *Liberty*, *undo* them for the *Publick Good*, and *de-*  
 “ *stroy* them with designs of Reformation. For  
 “ nothing is more popular than *Rebellion* in the  
 “ beginning, nothing less in the Issue of it. And  
 “ the only true Reason that it is ever so, is from  
 “ the want of Wisdom and Judgment in the Ge-  
 “ nerality of Mankind, who seldom see to the  
 “ End of Things, and hardly distinguish between  
 “ the Names and Nature of them, till their own  
 “ dear-bought Experience hath taught them the  
 “ Difference ” (a).

Thus the *Ten Rebellious Tribes*, breaking off from,  
 and setting up a *False Altar* of their own, against  
 the *True One* of Judah, were guilty of the dreadful  
 Sin of *Schism*, though they were the much *greater*  
*Number*: And therefore, whoever joined with them,  
 did but *Follow a Multitude* to do *Evil*, contrary  
 to God's express Command (b); whereby we are  
 taught, that it is not the *Number of the Advocates*,  
 but the *Weight and Truth of the Cause*, that is, to be  
 regarded.

This the *Priests of the Lord*, and the *Levites* and  
 such others as *feared God*, were truly sensible of;  
 as appears by their *Leaving their Possessions*,  
~~Withdrawing~~ from the *Communion of the Schis-*  
*matics*, and *Reconciling themselves* to the *True*  
*Church* and their *Lawful King*. For the *Priests*,  
 and the *Levites*, that were in all *Israel* resorted to him  
 (*King Rehoboam*) out of all their *Coasts* —, And,  
 after them, out of all the *Tribes of Israel*, such as set  
 their *Hearts* to seek the *Lord God of Israel*, came to  
*Jerusalem*, to *Sacrifice unto the Lord God of their Fa-*  
*thers*

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(a) Stillingsl. *Serm.* 30 January 1668. p. 14. (b) *Exod.* xxiii.  
 2. (c) 2 *Chro.* xi. 13.



*thers* ---. And this was the Reason, because *Jeroboam*, and his Sons, had, by pretended *State-Acts*, Depri-  
ed them, and cast them off from Executing the Priest's  
Office unto the Lord, and had Ordained him Priests  
for the High Places, and for the Devils, and for the  
Calves which he had made (a); which was the very  
Commencement of the Schism.

And in this miserable State of Rebellion and  
Schism (together with the Natural Consequents  
thereof, Idolatry and other Immorality in Worship),  
the Ten Tribes continued, till they were enslaved,  
and led into Captivity: Amongst all their Nineteen  
Kings, not having one, who feared God, but this  
is the Character of them all, that they Sinned, and  
made Israel to Sin; Neither was there any Regu-  
lar Succession or Government among them, but by  
making Parties among the People, one forcibly  
pulled down another, and by the like Force (only)  
Reigned in his stead.

In this Apostasy of the Ten Tribes, it is observa-  
ble, That a Prophet of the Lord was expressly sent to  
Bethel, to cry against the Altar which Jeroboam  
had Schismatically set up, in Opposition to the Al-  
tar of the Lord at Jerusalem: And though he was  
much importuned, to refresh himself there, he  
utterly refused it, saying, *If thou wilt give me half  
thine House, I will not go in with thee, neither will I  
eat Bread, nor drink Water in this Place; for so it  
was charged me by the Word of the Lord* (b).

Afterwards, though the Lord did not think fit,  
to suffer Rehoboam to reduce Israel to his Obedience,  
yet he gave them into the Hands of Abijah his Son,  
who, with an Army of Four Hundred Thousand (in  
a most Exemplary manner) defeated Jeroboam's  
Army of Eight Hundred Thousand, killing Five Hun-  
dred

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(a) 2 Chron. xi. 13. (b) 1 Kin. xiii. 8.

dred Thousand of them on the Spot (a). Which was the most compleat, and remarkable Victory; that we read of in the whole Bible, and something more than a bare Deliverance (b) (as Mr. Whiston affects to call it): For it was a most wonderful Providence (if he will allow that Providence ever appears on the Right Side!) in favour of Hereditary Right, against Possession by Popular Election. And this, Mr. Whiston could not but have clearly distinguished, if he had perused it Impartially (as he pretends): For the Text is not, that God delivered Judah out of the Hand of Israel, but God delivered Israel into the Hand of Judah. Neither did the Usurper die without some remarkable Judgment from God; for the Text says, the Lord Struck him (c).

Here I must beg my Reader's Patience, whilst I give him an Abstract of this Chapter, which contains so Solemn an Appeal to, and signal Interposition and Appearance of the Lord himself, in favour of the Right Heir of the House of David.

When the Battle was set in Array, Abijah stood up, and addressing himself to the Usurper Jeroboam, and all his Army, said, Ought ye not to know, That the Lord God of Israel gave the Kingdom over Israel, to David for ever, even to him and to his Sons by a Covenant of Salt. Yet Jeroboam — is risen up, and hath Rebelled against his Lord! And there are gathered unto him Wain Men, the Children of Belial! and have strengthened themselves against Rehoboam, the Son of Solomon, when Rehoboam was Young and Tender-hearted, and could not withstand them! And now ye think to withstand the Kingdom of the Lord in the Hand of the Sons of David: and ye be a great Multitude, and there are with

(a) 2 Chro. xiii. 17.  
Chro. xiii. 20.

(b) Script. Pol. p. 36.

(c) 2

*with you Golden Calves, which Jeroboam made you for Gods! Have ye not cast out the Priests of the Lord — and have made you Priests after the manner of the Nations? — But as for us, the Lord is our God, and we have not forsaken him; and the Priests which Minister unto the Lord are the Sons of Aaron — for we keep the Charge of the Lord our God, but ye have forsaken him! And behold, God himself is with us for our Captain; and his Priests with Sounding Trumpets, to cry alarm against you! O Children of Israel, fight ye not against the Lord God of your Fathers, for ye shall not prosper!*

In which Speech, 'tis observable, that *Abijah* insists positively, That the Lord had given the Kingdom of Israel to David and to his Heirs for ever, in due Course of Succession; and that such his Divine Hereditary Right thereto, was by a Covenant (or Ordinance, or Institution) never to be altered, that is to say, Indefeasible: He Charges *Jeroboam* with Rebellion against his Lord, and withstanding the Kingdom of the Lord in the Hand of the Sons of David; and finally assures them, that in fighting against him, they fought against the Lord God, and therefore should not prosper. All which would have been very Improper and Impertinent for him to have mentioned, especially in so solemn and Publick an Appeal (and *Jeroboam* or his Party, might easily have objected it to him, as such) if he had not been the Right Heir of the House of David, as I have proved him to have been.

I might likewise have observed, how he upbraids the Usurper with Casting out the Priests of the Lord under Pretence of his Lay-Deprivations, and Intruding others into their Offices by State-Acts, and Imposing a New State-Religion upon the Multitude, &c. But I shall waive the further Consideration of these Particulars, at present.



However this Speech of his had no Effect upon the Audience. For Jeroboam (who trusted not in God, but in his own Strength and Policy, as Usurpers usually do) caused an Ambushment to come about behind them — And when Judah looked back, behold the Battle was before and Behind; and they cried unto the Lord, And — God smote Jeroboam and all Israel, before Abijah and Judah; and God delivered them into their Hand — neither did Jeroboam recover Strength again in the Days of Abijah; and the Lord strook him, and he died.

After the Death of Jeroboam, his Son Nadab was scarce warm in the Throne, when Baasha slew him, and reigned in his stead; destroying the whole House of Jeroboam (a).

He dying left his Son Ela, to be served as himself had served Nadab (b).

Zimri, having destroyed the House of Baasha, and Usurped the Sovereignty for seven Days, at length, being streightened by Omri, became his own Executioner (c).

Then were the People of Israel divided into two Parts: Half — followed Tibni — to make him King; and half followed Omri. Upon which Division (as is common where the People take upon them to chuse their King) there ensued a Civil War: But the People that followed Omri prevailed —; so Tibni died, and Omri reigned (d).

Omri, by this Conquest, and the People's Election, seemed to have a Providential Settlement: And was succeeded by his Son Ahab; and he by his Son Ahaziah; and he by his Brother Jehoram (b). And his Succession is recorded (as a strong Proof of

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(a) — 1 Kin. xv. 27. (b) — xvi. 1. (c) — xvi. 18. (d) — xvi. 21, 22. (e) 1 Kin. xvi. 28. — xxii. 40, 2 Kin. i. 17.

of the Right of Proximity of Blood) with this Reason, because Ahaziah had no Son; and therefore Jehoram was the Next of Kin, according to the Law of Inheritances (a); which is as much as to inform us, that Jehoram could have had no Right to the Crown, if there had been any one Nearer of Kin to it than himself. But however, so far was that Providential Right (as they call it), or the Prescription of Eight and Forty Years Possession, from securing the Establishment of the House of Omri, that Jehu, by Express Commission from God, destroyed that whole House and Kindred (b).

In this Place, we read, in that vastly populous Kingdom of Israel (which, in Jeroboam's time, could afford an Army of Eight Hundred Thousand Fighting Men at once) that the Church of God consisted but of Seven Thousand Souls, who had not complied with the prevailing Iniquity of the Times, including all the Knees which had not bowed unto Baal, and every Mouth which had not kissed him (c). Such an Infinite Disproportion was there betwixt the Orthodox and the Schismatics in those Days! And when Jehoram went down (with the King of Edom) to Elisha, the Prophet said unto him, *What have I to do with Thee? Get thee to the Prophets of thy Father, and to the Prophets of thy Mother* — (meaning the False Prophets, who hardened him in his Schism, and countenanced him in his Idolatry); declaring to him, *As the Lord of Hosts liveth, before whom I stand, surely, were it not that I regard the Presence of Jehoshaphat, the King of Judah, I would not look toward thee, nor see thee.* So much was the Respect, which the Prophet paid to a Lawful and Orthodox Prince, different from his Behaviour to a Schismatick and Usurper (d)!

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(a) Numb. xxvii. 8. (b) 2 K. v. 14. (c) 1 Kin. xix. 18  
(d) 2 Kin. iii. 13.

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This *Jehoram* was slain by *Jehu*, who reigned in his Stead (a): And yet *Jehu* himself being an *Idolater*, shews, that his *Dominion* was not founded in *Grace*. However, he having fulfilled the *express Commandment* of the *Lord*, his *Family* held the *Possession* of the *Sovereign Power* above *One Hundred Years* (by the *Promise* of the *Lord*) to the *Fourth Generation*.

Yet, no sooner was the prescribed Term expired, but *Shallum* destroy'd the Posterity of *Jehu* (b): And having *usurp'd* the *Throne* one Month, was destroyed by *Menahem* his Successor (c). And *Menahem* dying, his Son *Pekahiah* was destroyed by *Pekah* (d): And he by *Hosea* (e); who continued the *Usurpation* till they were all together led into *Captivity* by *Shalmanezar*, King of *Assyria* (f), and never were heard of more as a *Kingdom* or *People*; all those that we meet withal now in the *World* being the Posterity of the *Loyal Tribe* of *Judah*.

However, tho' the *Succession* of *Israel* was not so regularly maintain'd, as it was in *Judah*, by a continu'd Chain of *Hereditary Descent*: Yet, even here too, whoever obtained the *Crown*, and left it in *Peace*, was *always succeeded* by his *Son*, or other *Next Heir*, according to the *Law of Nature*. Such was the *uninterrupted Succession* of *Jeroboam* and *Nadab* (his Son); of *Baasha* and *Ela* (his Son); of *Omri* and *Ahab*, *Ahaziah* and *Jehoram* (his Son and two Grandsons); of *Jehu* and *Jehoahaz*, *Joash*, *Jeroboam* and *Zachariah* (his Son, Grandson, Great Grandson, and Great Great Grandson); and of *Menahem* and *Pekahiah* (his Son); as more fully appears in the foregoing History. And, of all the *Revolutions* a-  
mong

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(a) 2 Kin. x. 29, 30. (b) 2 Kin. xv. 10. (c) —14. (d) —25. (e) —30. (f) —xvi. 6.



mong them, none are justified except that of Jehu only: Nor that any otherwise than for that he had an express Warrant from the Lord, for what he did, and was himself a King (a), before he made any Attempt upon his Master. And, as for the rest, tho' God Almighty doth oftentimes raise up (or rather permit) certain Rebels to be his Instruments of Wrath, to punish Irregular Princes (as it is his sole Prerogative to do, he not being bound to those Laws which he prescribeth to others): Yet, unless they have an Express Warrant from him, as Jehu had, they are but Rebels still. And therefore, it follows, (as an Author before quoted well observes) that "it is Treason for any Subjects, upon the "specious Pretence of Executing God's Decree and "Vengeance, to raise War, make Sedition, to Depose and Kill their Lawful Prince" (b)!

THUS have I gone through the whole History of the Kings of Judah and Israel, with due Care and Impartiality: And now (though I am not obliged to it by my present Undertaking) I shall just cast my Eye abroad in the World; wherein, that the same Regard was had to this Hereditary Descent, by Proximity of Blood, even universally among the Nations also, we may gather, from these few Evidences following.

When Abimelech, King of Gerar, desired Abraham to enter into Covenant with him, Swear unto me (says he) — that thou wilt not deal falsely with me nor with my Son, nor with my Son's Son (c). —

That the Kingdom of Pharaoh in Egypt, was Hereditary, we find, where we read, that the Lord smote all the First-born, — from the First-born of Pharaoh, that sat on the Throne, (d) &c. or (as it is

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(a) Kin. ix. 6. (b) Jenner's Prerog of Primogen. p. 35. (c) Genes. xxi. 23. (d) Exod. xii. 29.

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is in some Translations) *that was to sit on his Throne*: And again, where it is said, in the Person of *Pharaoh, I am the Son of the Ancient Kings* (a). To which we may add, what is well observed by our *Judicious Countryman*, to put the Matter out of all Controversy. "The *Crown Royal* (says he) always "passed by *Descent*, and not by *Election*: Which " (besides *Consent of Authors*) the *Scriptures* also "prove. For, whereas *Joseph* bought *all the Land* "of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the *Crown* had passed "by *Election*, then should *Pharaoh's Children* here- "by either have been enthralld, among the rest "of the *People*, to the next *Succeffor*, or, en- "joying their *Father's Land*, tho' not his *Estate* (or "Royal *Dignity*), have been more mighty than "the *King*, as *Landlords* of all *Egypt*, and the *King* "himself their *Tenant*" (b).

When *Nabush*, the *King* of the *Children of Ammon*, died, *Hanun* his *Son*, reigned in his *Stead* (c).

In the *Answer*, which the *King* of *Tyre* return'd to *Solomon's* *Message*, he tells him, he has sent him *Workmen* of *Hiram* his *Father* (d); which shews, that he was his *Father's Heir* in that *Kingdom*.

When the *King* of *Moab* sacrificed his *Eldest Son*, it is written, that he took his *Eldest Son* that thou'd have reigned in his *stead* (e), or (as *Josephus* expresses it) who ought in right to succeed him in the *Kingdom* (f).

By *Belshazzar's* inheriting his *Father* (g), *Nebuchadnezzar's Kingdom*, we may perceive it was the *Rule* in those *Countries*.

From which *Hints* (and several others in the *Holy Scriptures*), we may conclude the *General Ex-*  
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(a) Isa. xix. 11. (b) Raleigh, fol. 200. (c) 2 Sam. x. 1.  
1 Chro. xix. 1. (d) 2 Chro. ii. 13. (e) 2 Kin. iii 27. (f) An-  
tiq. Jud. l. ix. c. i. (g) Dan. v. 2.

tent of the *Law of Nature* amongst all *Nations*: But as that may be more amply made appear from *other Authors*, this may suffice here.

AS TO the *Casars*, (or *Roman Emperours*) that is, the *Higher Powers*, to whom our *Blessed Saviour* and his *Apostles*, have taught us to *submit* our selves, their particular *Titles* are not to be ascertained from the *Holy Scriptures*: But as it is very proper, to know somewhat thereof, for the better understanding the *Nature* and *Extent* of that *Duty of Subjection*, the following *Extract* has been made, with all due *Brevity*, from *Authors* of *Undoubted Credit*.

But, to obviate all *Objections*, as if (according to the foregoing *History*) in order to entitle these *Roman Emperours* to the *Obedience* of their *Subjects*, for *Conscience sake*, I ought first to prove every one of them to have had a strict *Hereditary Right* to the *Throne*, I find it necessary to premise, That, tho' "*Conquest*, in it self, is but a false *Gloss*, put on " the worst and blackest of *Crimes*, *Injustice*, *Robbery*, and *Cruelty* (a)", and therefore can give no *Prince* any better *Title* to a *Crown*, than an *Highway-man* has to any *Purse* he can catch: Yet, 'tis agreed, by all *Casuists*, That *Power*, howsoever unlawfully obtained, may be *Legitimated*, and commence *Authority*, either, by *Express Revelation* from *God Almighty*, as that of *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon* did, or by the utter *Extinction* and *Failure* of all those who have a *prior Right*, like that of *Ahaziah*, abovementioned (b), or else by the *Submission*, and *Disclaimer* of him to whom the *Crown of Right* belongs: In any of which *Cases*, 'tis agreed, the *Possessor* becomes duly *Authorized*, and entitled

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(a) Buræ's *Serm.* 31 Decem. 1706. (b) Page 84.



entitled to the *Allegiance* of his *Subjects*, by what *Means* soever he became possessor of the *Power*, because he then requires nothing of them, but what is in their own *Power*, and they are at *Liberty* to pay him, without doing *Wrong* to any *Third Person*; for that is the great *Objection* against *Submission* to *Powers de facto*, so long as there are any others claiming, *de Jure*.

Now, to apply this to the Case before us. It is not denied, but that upon our *Saviour's* appearing in the *Flesh*, the *Sceptre* was departed from *Judah*, and the *Jews* were become *Subjects* to the *Romans*, by the *Dedition* or *Submission* of *Hyrchanus*: But the *Controversy* is, whether the *Emperours* then reigning (to whom the *Subjection* was commanded in the *Gospel*) were *Lawful Emperours*? Or whether the *Subjection* were due to them as to the *Powers* for the *Time* in being, without any *Respect* had to the *Legality* or *Illegality* of their *Titles*?

This being the *Question*, we must observe, That *Augustus* was upon the *Throne* when our *Saviour* was born: and therefore we must enquire into his *Title*, as well as those of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius* and *Nero*; who are all that come within the *Compass* of this *Controversy*. And all these were *Lawful Emperours*, as in the following *Extract* will be made appear.

For (not to insist here upon the *Manner* of acquiring it, which indeed was by *Resisting* and *Rebelling* against their *Kings*, as all other popular *States* and *Common-wealths* began) the *Supreme Power* was vested in the *Senate* of *Rome*, as *Representatives* of the *People*: And that, without any *Claim* or *Pre-emption* kept up by their *Kings*, or any other *Competition* to the contrary; so that they were then lawfully possessor of the *Government*, in the same manner, as our *Neighbours* the *Dutch*, have been, ever since the *Kings of Spain* drop'd their *Claim* of *Sovereignty* over

over them. I say, the *Supreme Power* was thus lawfully in the *Senate*, without any *Competition*, when JULIUS CÆSAR, having overcome *Pompey*, made himself Absolute Master of the *Liberties of Rome*: But the *Senate and People*, who before had it in their own Hands, having immediately made him a Compliment thereof for his Life, that Act of theirs gave him a good Right and Authority to what he had before in his Power; so that he was undoubtedly their Lawful Sovereign from thenceforwards, without any *Competition*, so long as he liv'd, and was obey'd by them as such. Nor was that all. For he was received with the greatest Joy imaginable, and invested with such Honours and Power, as they had never before conferred on any. In short, they made him all that was Great, and never thought they had enough to bestow upon him; till he, beginning to Exercise the Power they had given him, was Assassinated, in The *Senate House*, under Pretence of the Publick Good, and restoring the Liberty of the Subject; and that too, by a Sett of Conspirators, who were all under the greatest Personal Obligations to him.

But "Publick Good, Reformation of Abuses, and Zeal for Religion, are ever pretended, and as constantly invaded, in the Course of such Proceedings, till at last, the Well-meaning, that for the Sake of these were drawn in to assist, find themselves cheated out of them all (a)". Thus the People soon finding themselves disappointed of the Advantages which the Conspirators had flatter'd them withal, began to Mutiny, and burn their Houses (as they deserv'd); which gave Octavius Augustus a fair Opportunity to ingratiate himself with the *Senate and People*, by pursuing the

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(a) Chandl. 30 Jan. 1717. p. 27.

**Regicides** to Death. After which, and his Victory over his *Competitors*, he so wrought upon the *Senate*, that they besought him earnestly to take the *Empire* upon himself alone. Whereby all the *Authority* of the *Senate* and *People* being freely and voluntarily transferred and confirm'd to *Augustus*, by their own *Act*, the *Imperial* Power thenceforwards became a *Legal Constitution*, and was indeed *Thoroughly* settled and established in him; as is acknowledg'd, by *Dr. Stillingfleet* (a), as well as by all other *Writers*. Nay, and so forward were they, in investing him with the *Supreme Power*, that (as the same *Learned Author* (b) observes from *Dio*, they offer'd to bind their *Allegiance* to him by *Oaths*: which however he wisely refused, for this Reason; "He considered well, that if they gave their *free Consent*, they would do what they promised without *Swearing*, and if they did not, all the *Oaths* in the *World* would not make them."

Thus was he confessedly a *Lawful Sovereign*, in Obedience to whose *Decree*, *Joseph* and *Mary* (then big with Child) went up to *Jerusalem*, to be *Taxed* (c); and in whose Time our *Blessed Saviour* chose to appear in the *Flesh*.

*Augustus* dying, *Tiberius* (whom he ha adopted, and made his Partner in the *Empire*) was left with the *Power* in his hand, and without any *Rival*, (no *Pretender* appearing to put in a Claim against him): So that "*Roma* rure in *Servitium* "*Consules, Patres, Equites* (d)". The *Romans*, of all Degrees, crowded, to shew their *Forwardness* to Subject themselves to him. And, after many earnest *Entreaties* on the one part, and feigned *Refusals* on the other,

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(a) *Unreas. New Separat.* p. 39. (b) *Ibid* p. 40. (c) *St. Luke ii. i.* (d) *Tacit. Ann. l. i.*



other, he was at length, *quasi Coactus* (a), as it were compelled, or forced, with some seeming Reluctancy, to take the Government upon him, as a Man does a Burthen upon his Shoulders; meerly to oblige the People.

Thus was this *Emperour* in the Throne, during all the time of our *Saviour's* Preaching. And, as he had all the Right that was then required, according to the Constitution of that *Empire*: So was that Right confirmed to him by our *Saviour* himself, who was the *Natural-born King* of the *Jews* (b); and whose *Pedigree* is derived in a direct Line of *Hereditary Descent*, from *Abraham*, by *St. Matthew* (c), and from *Adam* by *St. Luke* (d). For, when the Question was put to him, concerning the *Payment of Tribute to Caesar* (e), he did not only determine it in favour of *Caesar*, as a *Duty* to him, but likewise, to make it still more Exemplary, he wrought a *Miracle* to pay the same for himself: And when the *People* would have taken him by force to make him a *King*, he departed into a *Mountain* himself alone (f). Nor did he only thus waive his *Claim*, and submit himself to *Caesar*, but he declared also, That his *Kingdom* was not of this *World*: If my *Kingdom* were of this *World* (said he) then would my *Servants* fight (g); Expressing thereby the great *Duty* indispensibly incumbent upon all *Subjects*, in *General*, to assist and fight for their *Natural* Sovereign, whenever his *Service* requires it. For what a *Modern Divine* says of *English-Men*, is equally true, of all *Subjects*, that they are all "born *Subjects* to their *Lawful Prince*: And tho' they have never taken any *Oath of Allegiance* to him, they are as much liable — as if they had been under the *Obligation*"

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(a) *Sueton* p. 24. (b) *St. Matt.* ii. 2. (c) — *Chap. i.* (d) — *Chap. iii.* (e) *St. Mat.* xxii. 21. — xvii. 27. (f) *St.*  
(g) *St. Mat.* xxi. 36. — xviii. 36.

“ on of a Thousand Solemn Oaths and Promises  
 (a) ” : And that “ the Subjects or Servants of all  
 “ *Lawful* Princes, are obliged, by the very Nature  
 “ of Government and the Agreement of all Man-  
 “ kind, to endeavour by force of Arms, if other-  
 “ wise they cannot, to rescue and defend their  
 “ Sovereigns, from any Injuries offered them by  
 “ any of their Enemies ” (b). But as, in this  
 particular Case, our Blessed *Saviour* did not make  
 any *Claim* of his *Right* : So neither would he suffer  
 his *Followers* to Resist the *Civil Power* which him-  
 self had *Authorized*, though, at that very Instant,  
 it was imployed on a most *Wicked* Design (even  
 no less than the Death of the *Saviour* of the World),  
 but sharply reprov'd *Peter's* Unwarrantable Zeal ;  
 declaring that *all they that take* (assume, or *Usurp*)  
*the Sword, shall perish with the Sword* (c). And give  
 me leave here to borrow a just *Conclusion* of a  
*Great Man* now living, from this very Case, that “ if  
 “ neither the Malice of the *Jews*, nor the Inno-  
 “ cence of our Lord ; if neither the Truth of our  
 “ *Religion* persecuted in its Founder, nor the ap-  
 “ parent Marks of *Malice* and *Envy*, of *Violence*  
 “ and *Oppression*, which appeared in the whole  
 “ Course of their Prosecution of him, were Suffici-  
 “ ent to warrant St. *Peter* to draw the *Sword* in his  
 “ Defence, against that *Legal Authority* by which  
 “ they acted ; We must Conclude, that neither  
 “ will any of these *Pretences* Suffice to justify  
 “ any other *Christians*, in the like Circumstances,  
 “ now : But if it shall please *God*, at any time, to  
 “ permit the *Lawful Powers* to be against *Us*, and  
 “ make them that hate us to Rule over us, we  
 “ must follow the the Example of our blessed Ma-  
 “ ster,

(a) Milbourne. 30 Jan. 1707. p. 5.  
 p. 3. (b) St. Matt. xxvi. 52.

(1) Id. 30 Jan. 1715.

“ *ster, and submit Patiently to their Authority,*  
 “ *and not, with this warm Apostle, take the Sword*  
 “ *against those, to whom God has committed the*  
 “ *Power of the Sword*” (a). And this he very properly calls the *true Christian Doctrine of Submission* (or, in other Words, *Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance*) to the *Civil Magistrate*. For this our *Blessed Saviour* himself taught us, when he *patiently submitted* himself to die by the Judgment of *Pilate* (who acted by the *Lawful Emperor’s Commission*), acknowledging, that his *Power* was given him *from above* (b).

And, that the *Jews* paid all this *Submission* to the *Emperor*, as a *Duty* to their *Lawful Sovereign*, we may gather from the *Rage or Fury* wherewith they prosecuted our *Saviour* as an *Enemy* to *Cæsar*. When they brought him before *Pilate*, they accused him with *Perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give Tribute to Cæsar* (c)! When *Pilate* shewed an *Inclination* to release him, they cried out, *If thou let this Man go thou art not Cæsar’s Friend* (d)! And again, when he said unto them, *shall I Crucify your King?* the *Chief Priest* answered, *we have no King but Cæsar* (e); thereby expressly affirming, that *Cæsar* was their *Lawful Sovereign*.

Such was the *Right of Tiberius*, by whose *Authority* our *Blessed Saviour* was put to *Death*. But I can’t leave it, without this *Remark*, relating to the rash *Resistance* of that *Authority*, That, as *Peter* (from whom the *Pope* pretends to claim his *Supremacy*) was the *Person resisting*, so the *Person* wounded and miraculously healed again, was called *Malchus* (f) (which in the *Original* signifies a *King*) not without a *Mystery*, to shew us the *Unlawfulness* of that *Unchristian Doctrine* of *killing and Deposing*

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(a) Wake’s *Serm. before the Lords* 30 Jan. 1707. (a) *St. Joh. xix, 11.* (c) *St. Luk. xxiii. 11.* (d) *St. Joh. xix. 12.* (e) ——— 25. (f) *St. Luke xxii. 51, St. Joh. xviii. 10.*



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King **Lawful Kings**, so much contended for by some of the worst of **Papists**, and from them taken up by the worst of those who call themselves **Protestants**!

After *Tiberus's* Death, *Caligula* (who was the *People's Darling* for his *Father's* sake) by the joint Consent of the *Senate and People*, was declared *Emperour*, and the whole *Sovereign Power* (a) lodg'd in his Hands: But, being in a short time slain by some of the *Disappointed People*, he was succeeded by a **Riotous Anarchy** (as is *Common* in all **Elective Kingdoms**), till *Claudius* was found out and raised to the *Throne*, by *Common Consent*. And he, having adopted *Nero*, his *Succession* was easily accomplished after *Claudius's* Death.

During all which *Successions*, there is not indeed the least *Footstep* of a *Lineal Hereditary Descent* in the *Roman Empire*, but the *Succession* to the *Imperial Throne* was *Elective, Casual, Uncertain, and Arbitrary*: and whosoever obtained the *Sovereign Power* by the *Consent of the Senate and People*, was the *Undoubted Lawful Sovereign*, according to the *Constitution of the Roman Empire*. Because (as I said before) there was, after that, no such thing as a *Competition* for the *Throne*, nor any *Pretender* to a *better Title*: And, I believe, 'tis agreed on all Sides, that *Possession*, howsoever obtained, must be presum'd to be *Rightful*, until a *better Title* appears. So that, in a Word, I shall make no doubt of all the above-named *Emperours* being *Lawfully* possessed of the *Sovereign Power*, at least, till I am inform'd who were better intitled thereto, and whether such *better Title* was kept up, and asserted, in *Opposition* to the *Possessor*; that is (as we commonly express it now-a-days), whether there were *Princes*  
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(a) *Sueton. p. 14.*

*de Jure*, pretending to, or claiming the Throne, against those that were only *de Facto* in Possession of it. And therefore, to me, it is nothing strange, that St. Paul should Appeal from an *Inferior Magistrate*, to CÆSAR himself (a), who was the Lawful Supreme Power; and to whom he had commanded every Soul to be subject for Conscience sake (b). Tho' when we consider the personal Qualifications of that *Cesar*, even *Nero*, a Monster of a Man, it should convince us, that in the *Apostle's* Judgment, when he appealed to him, Dominion was not founded in Grace.

Nor des it appear, how he would have behav'd himself towards an *Usurper* (with regard to the Rights of the *Lawful Prince*), had he been under one; unless we may guess (as I think we may) from the Word by which the *Holy Ghost* inspir'd him to express and distinguish the Higher Powers, to whom he commanded our *Subjection*. For αἰνεσιαι (which he there and every where else makes Choice of, for that Purpose) being derived from ἐξουσιαν *licet* (which signifies to be Lawful), does always, and only, denote Lawful Powers: Whereas ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙΣ, from δύναμαι, *possum* (which signifies to be Able) would have, in General, denoted any kind of Power, which a Man was able to get into his Hands; if the *Apostle's* Meaning had not been particular, as well as his Expression. And it would be a *Blasphemous* Presumption to imagine, that the *Holy Ghost* (by whose Inspiration those Holy Books were written) should not use a Word proper for his own Meaning.

Here I might have further pursu'd the Inquiry, whether the *Christian* Doctrine hath made any Alteration in the Rights of *Kings* and Duty of *Subjects*; or whether that gives any greater Encouragement

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(a) *Acts* xxv. 10. (b) *Rom.* xiii. —

ragement to Faction and Sedition, than the *Lam*  
 did, under the old Mask of *Religion* and *Liberty*.  
 “ But it is so far from it, that, what *God* then  
 “ declared to be displeasing to him, by such re-  
 “ markable Judgments (as are herein before re-  
 “ lated), hath been now more fully manifested by  
 “ frequent *Precepts* and vehement *Exhortations*, by  
 “ the most weighty *Arguments*, and the constant  
 “ *Practice* of the first and the best of *Christians*, and  
 “ by the *black* Character, which is set upon  
 “ those, who under a *Pretence* of *Christian Liber-*  
 “ *ty*, did despise *Dominion*, and speak evil of *Digni-*  
 “ *ties*, and follow *Corah* in his Rebellion (a); how-  
 “ ever they may please themselves with greater  
 “ *Light* than former Ages had, in this Matter, they  
 “ are said to be such, for whom is reserved the  
 “ *Blackness of Darkness* for ever (b)”!

Thus have I faithfully perform'd what I pro-  
 mised at the Beginning; And if any thing here-  
 in is of Use toward settling the Minds of my  
*Readers*, in Matters of so great and universal Con-  
 cern, I have my *End*, and shall add no more but  
 this Declaration, That I am as free from Prejudice as  
 any Man living, and therefore shall readily acknowledge  
 and correct any Mistakes or Oversights I may have  
 happened to be guilty of, in this short History, upon due  
 Notice and Conviction thereof, and be thankful for any bet-  
 ter Information.

(a) *St. Jude*. 8, 11, 13. (b) *Seilling's*. *ubi* *Supr.* p. 39.

F I N I S